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Relating Adolescents' Identity and Motivational Processes in Academics and Athletics: The Integral Nature of a Perceived Sense of Agency

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Relating Adolescents' Identity and Motivational Processes in Academics and Athletics: The Integral Nature of a Perceived Sense of Agency

by

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Relating Adolescents' Identity and Motivational Processes in Academics and Athletics: The Integral Nature of a Perceived Sense of Agency

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The purpose of this study was to examine the relationships among identification, extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, and perceived competence within two domains, academics and athletics. Ryan and Deci's (2000, 2002) Self-Determination Theory was examined in relationship to other theories of motivation and identity and self-concept. In addition, literature on student-athletes also informed this study. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used in the investigation of the different constructs. In the quantitative phase of the study, 425 seventh, ninth, and twelfth graders filled out self-report questionnaires relating to their academic and athletic identification, extrinsic and

intrinsic motivation, and perceived competence. The quantitative results demonstrated that students were more extrinsically driven in academics while they were more intrinsically driven in sports. Also, strong relationships among identification and both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation were exhibited in both domains. Perceived competence demonstrated mixed results in the academic domain while demonstrating strong relationships to motivation in the athletic domain. Grade comparisons were also analyzed demonstrating some developmental patterns in identification, motivation, and perceived competence and the relationships among these variables.

In the qualitative phase of the study, 12 ninth graders were interviewed and observed over the course of three months, and their data were analyzed using Strauss and Corbin's (1998) grounded theory approach. Their results illustrated the relationships among the context (i.e., the school) and the students' identity and motivation processes. A central phenomenon was derived from these relationships that pointed to the importance of a perceived sense of self as agent in the affective processes that these students experienced. Students discussed a weaker sense of agency within academics and less control over the choices that they made within this domain than in the athletic domain, perspectives that were integrated into their views of their identity and motivation, and that, in the end, affected the choices they made.

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INTRODUCTION

The very term "student-athlete" implies an individual who is being asked to manage and succeed at the tasks that make up two different realms of his or her life, athletics and academics. For adolescents who, according to Erikson (1956), are in the process of identity formation, this management and success has the potential to influence both their present and future behavior and thinking. Even if one immediately acknowledges that in fact there is a very large number of other realms within which an adolescent student-athlete must also live successfully, the contexts of academic and athletic pursuits join together two different sets of motivations and perceptions to create the experiences of the student-athlete. With this study, I was able to understand better how the development of students' motivations and perceptions of themselves influence their emotions, cognitions, and behaviors by focusing on individuals who in their very labels represent possibly conflicting sets of motivation and identification issues. This study drew on the existing research and theoretical literatures on motivation, self-concept, identification, and student-athletes to create a framework for understanding how student-athletes' experiences might inform the experiences of students in general.

Issues of Motivation: Focusing on Self-Determination

I began with the research area dealing with motivation theories that focus on the importance of attributions (Weiner, 1986), self-efficacy (Bandura, 1982), expectancies and values (Atkinson, 1957), and self-determination (Deci, Vallerand, Pelletier, & Ryan, 1991). Also, studies by researchers such as Graham (1994) that have focused on the role

of motivation in learning influenced this study. According to Pintrich and Schunk (1996), "motivation" is something that "gets us going, keeps us moving, and helps us get jobs done" (p. 4). Much research has been conducted over the past century examining the different factors that contribute to or detract from a person's motivation. Not only does each of the previously mentioned theories provide a partial explanation for why a person is motivated to act in some way, but each one also relates this motivation, to some extent, to the person's concept of self.

Both Weiner (1986) and Bandura (1982) discussed the motivational effects of individuals' perceptions of themselves and their contexts. Weiner's (1986) attribution theory focused on how different causal perceptions influence a person's motivation. Within this theory, three dimensions of causal attributions are described: stability, locus, and control. Each of these dimensions affects a person's motivation within different contexts. For example, individuals may be more motivated to change their behavior if they feel that they have more control over the outcome and if the outcome is less stable, meaning that it can be affected by their behavior. On the other hand, if a person feels that he or she has less control over the outcome and/or the outcome is more stable, he or she may feel less motivated to behave in some way to affect the outcome. In comparison, Bandura's (1982) self-efficacy theory described how a person's confidence in a specific situation can affect motivation. The less confident, or self-efficacious, one feels, the less motivated one feels, and by the same token, the more self-efficacious, the more motivated.

Related to attribution and self-efficacy theories, and in fact, predating them, is

expectancy-value theory (Atkinson, 1957). Although this theory has many derivations, which often include other factors in the equation, Eccles (1983) has focused her research specifically on the interaction between expectancy and value. Some of her focus has been on expectancies and their relationship to self-concept. Other research has focused more on how different types of values associated with different types of tasks influence motivation and may be related to self-identity (Wigfield & Eccles, 1992). Either way, the basic premise of this theory is that the more one values some goal and/or the more one expects to succeed at achieving the goal, the more motivated one will be to behave in some way to reach the goal.

Each of these motivation theories was important for developing the framework for this study, but the construct that was most integral to my work was Deci and colleagues' Self-Determination Theory (1991; Ryan & Deci, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2002). This theory comes closest to relating motivation to the ideas of self and identity. Deci and his colleagues presented self-determination as the opposite of "controlled types of intentional regulation" (p. 326). Human beings are seen as having different types of needs, with the three primary needs labeled as competence, relatedness, and autonomy needs. Each of these needs relates to motivation, but self-determination is most related to autonomy needs. Individuals need to feel that they have control over what they do and what happens as a result of these actions in order to feel self-determined. They gain this feeling of self-determination by integrating the external regulations of their social contexts within the self. This process of internalization allows one to feel more self-determined, which then leads to greater motivation. Self-determination theory is based on two beliefs:

> (a)…people are inherently motivated…to internalize and integrate within

> themselves the regulation of uninteresting activities that are useful for effective functioning in the social world; and (b)…the extent to which the process of internalization…proceeds effectively is a function of the social context. (p. 328-329)

These beliefs led Deci et al. (1991) to describe four types of "extrinsic regulations" that they differentiated from what is normally described as "intrinsic motivation" (that is, "motivation to engage in an activity for its own sake," Pintrich & Schunk, 1996, p. 257), and that they placed on a continuum. The first of these processes they called "external regulation," or "behaviors for which the locus of initiation is external to the person" (p. 329). These behaviors would be performed based on some reward or external contingency placed on the behaviors and would represent motivational processes furthest from intrinsic motivation. "Introjected regulation" is the second of these processes. It refers to "taking in but not accepting a regulation as one's own" (p. 329) and basing behaviors on "internalized rules or demands" (p. 329). This process is not viewed as being part of the "integrated self" because it is still considered to come from outside, not within, the person. A third process, "identified regulation," is also viewed as being extrinsic but is coming closer to the idea of self-determined processes. This process happens "when the person has come to value the behavior and has identified with and accepted the regulatory process" (p. 329). Deci et al. (1991) stated that this type of regulation is "more fully a part of the self" (p. 329), which also means that the person is more motivated to act in a way with which he or she could "identify." The final process is "integrated regulation." Within this process, behaviors with which one has become identified also become more integrated, that is, "they have become harmonious with each other and with the rest of the student's sense of self" (p. 330). Although they are still not

representative of true intrinsic motivation, they are part of a self-integrated, self-determined system.

Identity, Self-Concept, and Identification

As can be seen within this internalization process and each of the other theories of motivation, the self, or parts of it, is said to play a key role in explaining, or at least relating to, a person's motivation. The terms "self-efficacy," "self-concept," "self-identity," and "self-determination" as well as the term "self" by itself have all been used to refer to some part of a person's being. Whether these researchers and authors are referring to the same thing is not known; however, to explain further the focus of this study, definitions of the terms used and a discussion of some of the literature that is relevant follow.

Erikson's (1956) view of identity, like Rosenberg's (1979) view of self-concept, is to some extent more static than it is currently viewed, his theories did lay a foundation for understanding the developmental process of identification. Erikson focused on how critical this process is during adolescence and placed emphasis on the social context's importance in identity formation. Erikson (1956) discussed how important it is for adolescents to find their "niche" in society:

> In finding it [a niche] the young adult gains an assured sense of inner continuity and social sameness which will bridge what he *was* as a child and what he is *about to become*, and will reconcile his *conception of himself* and his *community's recognition* of him. (p. 111)

Within his theory, Erikson did not break identity down into parts but instead viewed it as a complete entity in and of itself.

Instead of discussing the development of identity and the self as one global

domain, another developmental theorist, Susan Harter (1985, 1988), focused on self-perceptions as a combination of several domains. She conceived of the self-concept as different in several domains of one's life including scholastic, social, athletic, and physical, and examined how adolescents and others develop their self-perceptions within these different realms. In her research, she and her colleagues talked about "multiple self-representations" and how a "proliferation of role-related selves during adolescence" can be observed (Harter, Bresnick, Bouchey, & Whitesell, 1997. p. 835). They also discussed the contributions of social and cognitive processes to the "emergence of different selves in different relational contexts" (p. 837). These different views of the self in different contexts then make it possible for conflicts to occur within the individual. As the adolescent develops, these multiple selves become greater and greater in number, and often the child is not cognitively equipped yet to handle these conflicts (i.e., during midadolescence). With age, however, they gain the cognitive ability to

> …normalize the construction of multiple selves, that allow one to selectively occupy those contexts in which self-evaluations are more favorable, and that provide for a phenomenological sense of unity through the construction of a meaningful narrative on one's life story. (p. 851)

In this and other articles, Harter focused on the different selves adolescents create in their relationships with other people (Harter et al., 1997; Harter & Monsour, 1992), but she has also examined how competence and motivation within the academic domain can be affected by different contexts (Harter, Whitesell, & Kowalski, 1992). By combining these two lines of research, one focusing on conflicting selves in adolescence and the other focusing on changing competence and motivation in specific domains, we can better understand the developing motivational processes adolescents experience while trying to

come to terms with conflicting selves in different domains.

In addition to literature focused on the self-concept and the developmental processes involved in identity and self-concept formation, research examining multiple identities (Deaux, 1993; Gregg, 1995; Pittinsky, Shih, & Ambady, 1999), disidentification (Steele, 1997), and other related theories inform my study. As discussed earlier, a focus on student-athletes was chosen because just as their hyphenated name reflects, these students are often viewed as having two separate self-concepts/identities. Whether this perspective is realistic or not, it is true that these students must motivate themselves in two specific arenas of their lives, academics and athletics.

Within the multiple identities research, Deaux (1993) discussed four research issues:

> …(a) the structure and interrelationships among multiple identities, (b) the several functions that identities serve, (c) the importance of context to the development and enactment of identities, and (d) the need for longitudinal studies of identity change. (p. 4)

In her article, she examined "how individual motivations and experiences combine with social norms and situations to influence self-definition" (p. 4) and discussed the close relationship between identity and motivation. Deaux emphasized context and pointed out that because people have constantly "shifting contexts," they "must continually work at their identities" and engage in "identity work" (p. 10). By examining the perspectives of those who exist within very specific "shifting contexts" and who engage in this type of "identity work" within these areas, not only could I address the issues Deaux discussed, but I could also learn more about what I have come to called "motivational process of being," about which I will say more shortly.

In another study examining the relationship between multiple identities and identity adaptiveness, Pittinsky et al. (1999) found patterns of "different identification." These researchers found that the identities that people tend to favor are those that are most adaptive to the social contexts within which they exist. They discussed "two conflicting drives in [a person's] social identification patterns: a desire to affiliate and a desire to remain distinct" (Pittinsky et al., 1999, referring to Brewer, 1991, p. 515). Rather than viewing identity as a one-dimensional entity, Pittinsky et al. (1999) focused on the complexity and multi-dimensionality of identification and the "utilitarian" nature of "identity dynamics."

These researchers compared their findings to those related to disidentification (Steele, 1997). According to Steele (1997), disidentification is defined as "preventing or breaking a person's identification with school, in particular, those domains of schooling in which the stereotype applies" (p. 622). A similar definition for this phenomenon was provided by Major, Spencer, Schmader, Wolfe, and Crocker (1998). In their article they stated that disidentification occurs when persons "define or redefine their self-concepts in such a way that those domains are no longer a basis of their self-evaluation" (p. 35). Researchers have measured this process by looking at the correlations between self-esteem and academic achievement. The lower the correlation between these two variables, the greater the academic disidentification.

Two such studies have been conducted by Osborne (1995, 1997). In the first, Osborne correlated GPA and academic achievement test scores with scores on self-esteem measures for African-American and White 8th and 10th graders (Osborne,1995).

The correlations for African-American students were significantly smaller than the correlations for White students. In a second study, Osborne (1997) examined the correlations between GPA and academic achievement test scores with scores on self-esteem measures for African-American, Hispanic, and White students in 8th, 10th, and 12th grades. Osborne found that these correlations for African-American male students decreased significantly more than any other group over these five years. In this study, he also examined correlations between self-esteem and domains other than academics. While the academic achievement correlations decreased for African-American males, the correlations between self-esteem and self-perceived popularity and between self-esteem and self-perceived athletic ability increased.

Other research examining the precursors to identification with school lends some support to these findings by Osborne. When school identification was measured with a questionnaire, African-American 8th graders' scores on this measure did not significantly correlate with their academic achievement scores in 4th and 7th grade. The correlations on these measures for White students, however, were significant (Voelkl, 1997). This seems to indicate that even though African-American 8th graders may have some identification with *school*, which was defined here as "the extent to which a student has bonded with school and incorporated it as a significant part of his or her self-concept and lifestyle," (p. 296) they may not be identifying with the *academic* part of school. Because the word "school" has many aspects related to it other than academic studies (i.e., athletics, peer groups), the children in this study may have been identifying with these other aspects.

This idea of some students identifying with other aspects of school is supported

further by studies reported by Aronson, Blanton, and Cooper (1995). These authors discussed how dissonance aroused in one area of the self-concept can lead to "affirming some valued aspect of the self-concept not necessarily related to the threat" (p. 986) that created the dissonance. The "threat" that they used in their studies was directed toward their subjects' "sense of compassion," but many types of threat exist that could create dissonance within a person's self-concept (e.g., academic failure, stereotype threat). In their second study, these researchers demonstrated how this dissonance may then further cause a person to change his or her self-concept. The participants in their study modified their self-concepts by disidentifying with the aspect of the self-concept that had been threatened and by then identifying with some other aspect that was not related to this threat; thus, supporting the possibility that disidentification with one aspect of school could lead to identification with other aspects of school.

Research on Student-Athletes

In addition to research examining general students' motivation, identification, and self-concepts, studies focusing on student-athletes themselves influenced the framework of this study. Although research on high school student-athletes is not as prevalent as that on college student-athletes, some literature examining the development of these athletes provided insight for this study. Goldberg and Chandler (1995), for example, discussed the psychosocial development of high school athletes and the problems associated with this development. Their perspective stemmed largely from Eriksonian psychosocial theory and addressed the fact that these athletes have to "balance conflicting roles, values, and expectations" (Electronic version, p. 2). These researchers also addressed the issue of role

engulfment, which "reduces the motivation to explore alternative roles," (Electronic version, p. 2) and they cited Butt (1976) in their discussion of adolescent athletes' need for personal competence as saying:

> The athlete is not expected to appreciate and internalize the reason for rules and regulation; he [she]…functions under a system of fines and penalties levied against him [her] that force him [her], like a child, to behave. (Goldberg & Chandler, 1995, referring to Butt, 1976, p. 222)

All of the previous points addressed by Goldberg and Chandler (1995) demonstrate both the identification and motivation issues with which high school student-athletes must contend.

Other research focusing on high school athletes has focused on their later adult development (Spreitzer, 1994) and their moral development (Beller & Stoll, 1995). However, one other study conducted by Jordan (1999) examined the relationships between African-American high school students' sports participation and their school engagement and achievement. This study found a positive relationship between being an athlete and self-concept, academic achievement, and academic self-confidence; however, the researcher did admit that he "ignored potentially important contextual factors that might have mediated between sports participation and student outcomes" (p. 69). He concluded by saying further research should be conducted that examines the specific contexts within which these students pursue academic and athletic success.

Turning to the college level, some research on college student-athletes examined the relationship between different academic and nonacademic factors and academic and athletic performance/success for these students (Petrie & Stoever, 1997; Robst & Keil, 2000; Ryan, 1994; Upthegrove, Roscigno, & Charles, 1999; Walter, Smith, Hoey,

Wilhelm, & Miller, 1987; Young & Sowa, 1992). Others reported on the academic motivation of these student-athletes (Simons, Van Rheenan, & Covington, 1999; Snyder, 1996) and the "life experiences" of these students (Sellers, Kuperminc, & Damas, 1997).

Adler and Adler (1985) conducted a qualitative study that described the process of academic detachment that college athletes experience while attempting to be both academically and athletically successful. They found that most student-athletes entered college "feeling idealistic…and optimistic," but as these students progressed, they became more and more detached from academics, and "their naïve, early idealism gradually became replaced by disappointment and growing cynicism" (p. 243-244). In their book, which incorporated these findings into several years of extended qualitative research, Adler and Adler (1991) described the "engulfed self" of college-level student-athletes as "specialized, narrow, and singular in focus. Centralized in its identity, it is focused in a single role and comparatively blinded to all others" (p. 230). These researchers summarized the different roles that must be performed and the expectations that must be experienced while student-athletes attempt to negotiate who they are in college.

Finally, in a previous study (Woodruff, 2002), using a similar framework, I used qualitative methods to examine the student-athlete experience with academic and athletic motivation and self-concept/identity in a college context. My study (2002) involved four women and five men student-athletes at a Division-I state university being interviewed and observed. A grounded theory approach was used based on Strauss and Corbin's (1998) methods for coding and analyzing qualitative data. I developed categories from

the data, which then allowed me to develop a model of the process relating students' motivation and self-concepts/identities within either or both of the academic and athletic aspects of their lives. As a consequence of this process, students fell into different groups in terms of their motivation and their academic/athletic self-concepts/identities. Students were categorized first according to Deci et al.'s (1991) continuum of the internalization process and second according to what they said that revealed the degree to which they identified with each of the domains, academics and athletics. In order to organize the perspectives of these students and show the process that these students are experiencing, a process model was created (see Figure 1). The model contains the themes that these students discussed (e.g., "Much harder academically," "Must work hard & put in effort") as well as the influence of their perspectives on their motivation and self-concepts/identities. These perspectives and the changes that they cause in both their motivation and self-concepts/identities then led to the categories that were derived.

Within this model, a "motivational process of being," in which identity and motivational processes with their shared meanings created the individual students' experiences, is portrayed as beginning with high school student-athletes who identify to a great degree with athletics. Every one of the athletes interviewed discussed how "everyone" in their high schools knew them as an athlete. Some of the ways these students described themselves in high school were "jock," "star athlete," "[athletic] stud," and "I played (sport) – that's what I did." All of these students also seemed to be intrinsically motivated to play their sports in high school. Although these students began playing their sports for different reasons and at different ages, by the time they were in

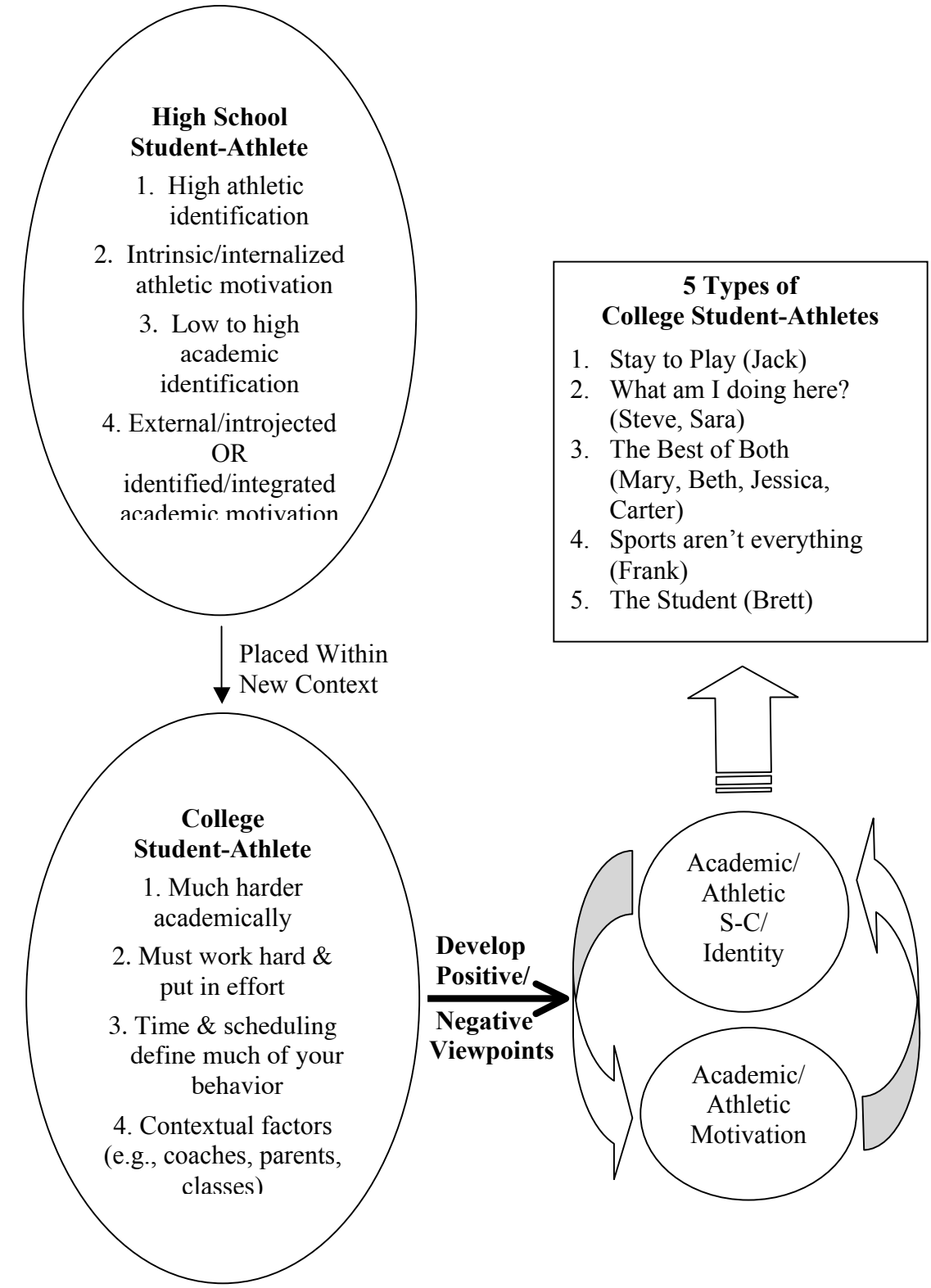

Figure 1. A Process Model of College Student-Athletes' Academic and Athletic Identification and Motivation.

high school, each of them was participating in the sport for the sake of the sport itself and the enjoyment that they felt when participating in the sport.

Academically, however, these students differed substantially in how they viewed both their high school academic motivation and self-concept/identification. In relation to their motivation, every student discussed having to "pass to play;" therefore, they viewed their academics as a means for getting to participate in their athletics. Many of them also mentioned their parents' influence in their academics and how they would not let them play their sport if they received grades that were below a certain grade on their report card. For these reasons, these students were seen as being either "external/introjected" or "identified/integrated" in their motivation, but most of the students seemed to fluctuate during high school between introjected and identified academic motivation. This fluctuation occurred not only over time but also among different subjects and classes with different teachers**.** These students also ranged quite a bit in how much they identified with academics. Most of the students fell somewhere in the middle when it came to how they viewed themselves academically in high school. None of the students viewed themselves as extremely gifted in high school, but they all felt that they were above average when it came to academics.

By investigating further these perspectives addressed in the college student-athlete study, I extended this process model to represent the underlying developmental processes that occur before these students reach college (i.e., in middle school and high school). In the next section, I present my research questions related to the first phase of the study and an explanation of the rationale.

Unlike Osborne (1995, 1997), who used correlations between self-esteem and achievement measures to measure academic identification, I used specific scales (i.e., the Athletic Identity Measure Scale [AIMS; Brewer, 1990] and an academically-revised version of the AIMS) to try to get at academic and athletic identification. From my point of view, the identification process described by Harter and her colleagues (1992, 1997) and other developmental researchers and the internalization process described by Deci and others derive from similar underlying processes; therefore, a large amount of overlap should exist between "identification" as defined in the self-concept/identity/identification literature and "internalized" motivation as defined by Deci, Ryan, and their colleagues (1991, 2000, 2002). To illustrate, the more a student has internalized motivation within the academic domain (e.g., demonstrating identified motivation), the more the student will identify with this domain (and vice versa). Based on these definitions of "identified" and "internalized," strong correlations should be found between students' scores on the identification scales (i.e., AIMS and the academically-revised version of AIMS [Brewer, 1990]) and Ryan and Connell's Self-Regulation scales (1989), which measure how extrinsically versus internally motivated one is within different domains. Because Williams and Deci (1996) found significant correlations between perceived competence and autonomy (the driving need behind self-determined motivation), I also expected significant relationships to exist between perceived competence, as measured by Harter's Profiles (1985, 1988), and motivation and identification. From this reasoning I derived the following research questions:

a) What kind of relationship will there be among academic identification,

academic perceived competence, and the different forms of academic motivation? What kind of relationships will there be between academic identification and athletic identification, athletic perceived competence, and the different forms of athletic motivation?

b) What kind of relationship will there be among athletic identification, athletic perceived competence, and the different forms of athletic motivation? What kind of relationships will there be between athletic identification and academic identification, academic perceived competence, and the different forms of academic motivation?

Because I viewed the identification and internalization processes as overlapping to a great degree, I believed they should both be viewed as developmental processes. Harter and her colleagues (1992, 1997) have demonstrated that as children get older, the number of domains with which they identify becomes larger and the conflicts within the self among these domains become greater. By combining these findings with Osborne's (1995, 1997) demonstration of how students increase their identification (or disidentification) with specific domains from middle school through high school, I suggested that as students get older they begin to identify with or internalize to a greater extent specific domains (i.e., academics, athletics). To add to this, because the two domains I examined – academics and athletics – have a good chance of being viewed by the student as being in conflict (e.g., having very different goals, taking up large amounts of time), a student may have great difficulty reconciling these domains and may, therefore, feel forced to pick one of them to identify with or internalize over the other.

This line of thinking led me to another question:

c) Will the strength of the previously explained correlations increase according to the student's age (i.e., twelfth graders will have higher correlations than ninth graders and ninth graders will have higher correlations than seventh graders)?

A qualitative study was conducted during Phase II of my study for several purposes:

a) I hoped to gain more insight into (a) the relationships that I uncovered with the initial data analysis; and (b) the themes that the college athletes addressed when talking about their high school experiences in my previous study (Woodruff, 2002);
b) I wanted to better explain the developmental processes that adolescent students experience while trying to succeed in two different domains;
c) I hoped to provide a better understanding of the relationships among motivation, self-concept/identification, and perceived competence; and
d) I also wanted to provide a more process-oriented perspective of these student experiences.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study drew on three general areas of literature: a) motivation theories; b) self-concept, identity, and identification theories; and c) research on student-athletes. The second of these areas has four sub-categories of research focusing on philosophical views of the self, identity, and self-concept; developmental perspectives of identity and self-concept; dissonance, disengagement, and disidentification; and multiple identities. In order to better understand students' academic and athletic motivation and relate these processes to the identification processes that she or he experiences, the perspectives of these different literatures were brought together in this review. Each area provided a unique perspective of the processes that were being addressed and explained in my study.

Motivation

The first part of this section focuses on Self-Determination Theory, its different aspects, and other researchers' applications of the theory. Because this motivation theory is central to the theoretical and methodological framework of this study, it is focused on to a greater extent than the other motivation theories that are discussed. In the second part of this section, I introduce these other theories and discuss each of them briefly in order to demonstrate their connections with self-determination and the other constructs that are the focus of this study, self-concept, identity, and identification.

Self-Determination Theory

The motivation theory that provided much of the theoretical and methodological framework and, to some extent, was the impetus of this study was Self-Determination Theory (Deci, Vallerand, Pelletier, & Ryan, 1991; Ryan & Deci, 2000; Ryan & Deci,

2002). Within this theory, the researchers describe a process for internalizing motivation and becoming more self-determined. Rather than viewing motivation dualistically as either intrinsic or extrinsic, they place extrinsic motivation on a continuum that goes from less self-determined to more self-determined and describe four categories of extrinsic regulation that fall on this continuum: external, introjected, identified, and integrated regulation.

External regulation. The most extreme form of extrinsic motivation, external regulation refers to reasons for acting in some way that derive from an "external demand" or a "socially constructed contingency" (p. 17, Ryan & Deci, 2002). Such external contingencies include receiving rewards or avoiding punishment such as getting good grades, not being yelled at, or being allowed to play one's sport.

Introjected regulation. Next to external regulation on the internalization continuum, introjected regulation is more internalized than external regulation but is still extremely controlling, so much so that it can interfere with and detract from a person's intrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2002, referring to Ryan, 1982). Although introjected regulation is more internalized, it is not considered "fully part of the self" (p. 62, Ryan & Deci, 2000). Introjected regulation relates to a person being motivated in a specific domain or activity in order to avoid feeling guilt, shame, or anxiety or to achieve "feelings of worth" or pride (p. 17, Ryan & Deci, 2002). Examples of introjected regulation include performing well in school in order to feel better when showing one's parent a report card or trying to excel at a sport in order to feel proud in front of one's peers.

Identified regulation. A somewhat more internalized and self-determined form of extrinsic motivation, identified regulation refers to reasons for acting in some way that derive from a person's values. When a person has identified with a given domain or activity, they have "accepted its regulation as his or her own" and view success within the domain or at the activity as important (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Relative to external and introjected forms of regulation, being identified results in more autonomous and self-determined behavior. For example, a student who is identified with academics might talk about how important it is to be successful in this domain, or an athlete who is identified with her sport might describe being successful at playing her sport as important to reaching her more long-term goals.

Integrated regulation. Although not one of the forms of extrinsic regulation measured on their Self-Regulation Questionnaires (Ryan & Connell, 1989), integrated regulation is the most internalized and self-determined form of extrinsic motivation. This form of regulation takes identified regulation one step further by bringing these "identifications…into congruence with the personally endorsed values, goals, and needs that are already part of the self" (p. 18, Ryan & Deci, 2002), and as such, it shares many of the qualities of intrinsic motivation. However, integrated regulation is still considered a form of extrinsic regulation in that the reasons that derive from this form of motivation focus on the "instrumental value" of an action or behavior rather than the action or behavior itself (p. 62, Ryan & Deci, 2000).

Intrinsic motivation. Deci, Ryan, and their colleagues contrast these forms of extrinsic motivation with *intrinsic motivation*, which they define as, "the doing of an

activity for its inherent satisfactions rather than for some separable consequence" (p. 56, Ryan & Deci, 2000). The theory's authors discuss intrinsic motivation as not only existing with the individual but also existing within the relationship between the individual and the task. They also bring up two other important points: a) individuals are intrinsically motivated in certain types of tasks and not others, and b) there is no one task in which all persons are intrinsically motivated to participate. Examples of intrinsic motivation include reasons such as participating in writing activities because they are fun and enjoyable and playing a sport for the love of it.

Amotivation. At the complete opposite side of the extrinsic motivation continuum from intrinsic motivation is *amotivation*, which refers to "the state of lacking the intention to act" (p. 17, Ryan & Deci, 2002). According to these authors, such a lack of motivation derives from "a lack of contingency or a lack of perceived competence" or a person's not valuing an activity or its possible results (p. 17, Ryan & Deci, 2002). Students who demonstrate amotivation within a specific domain have completely disengaged and disidentified from the given domain and provide reasons for either not acting or acting in a less than productive way in the domain that express this lack of motivation (e.g., "School is just not important to who I am," "Sports do not matter to me").

In their 1989 article, Ryan and Connell presented a way to measure the internalization process and its different forms of extrinsic regulation as opposed to intrinsic motivation. Their scales, termed Self-Regulation Questionnaires, used "reasons" instead of "causes" for measuring students' external, introjected, and identified regulation

and intrinsic motivation (p. 750, Ryan & Connell, 1989). Taking these questionnaires and adapting them to examine different domains, several researchers have focused on analyzing motivation and self-regulation from a self-determination perspective.

Vallerand and Ratelle (2002), for example, examined extrinsic regulation, intrinsic motivation, and amotivation as hierarchical constructs that differ in type (domain) and generality. They discussed the need for examining motivation at "global, contextual, and situational levels" and relating these different levels to understand better their influences on one another. In addition to describing extrinsic motivation as being made up of four types of regulation, these authors describe intrinsic motivation as being made up of: a) intrinsic motivation to know, b) intrinsic motivation to accomplish, and c) intrinsic motivation to experience stimulation (p. 42, Vallerand & Ratelle, 2002). They also compare amotivation to the findings from learned helplessness studies in which persons demonstrating such emotional states "feel incompetent and act like they have little or no control" (p. 43, Vallerand & Ratelle, 2002, referring to Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978).

Two other researchers, Koestner and Losier (2002), examined the differences among intrinsic motivation, identified regulation, and introjected regulation. Based on self-report and interview data, they looked at these constructs in educational and political domains and found that while introjected regulation resulted in more negative behaviors and emotions, identified regulation was actually "more important than intrinsic motivation in promoting responsible behavior and healthy adaptation" in these two domains (p. 113, Koestner & Losier, 2002). Like Vallerand and Ratelle (2002), these

authors discuss the importance of the context and its environmental factors for influencing the different types of motivation and regulation and for determining which type of motivation, identified or intrinsic, is most important to a person's performance and positive experience within a given domain.

Following Vallerand and Ratelle's (2002) suggestion, Frederick-Recascino (2002) examined the different extrinsic and intrinsic motivational constructs in a different domain, sports. She discussed studies examining sport motivation with different age groups and their results, concluding that with youths, more intrinsic reasons are central to their motivation in sports, and as persons age, their reasons for participating in sports become more differentiated. In addition, she went on to discuss the need for more research examining sport motivation from a self-determination perspective.

Underlying self-determination theory and its internalization process are three needs that Deci, Ryan, and their colleagues have focused on as being central to a person's motivation: a) the need for competence, b) the need for relatedness, and c) the need for autonomy. The first of these needs refers to a person's viewing himself or herself as capable at a given task or within a given domain, while the second refers to the human need to feel connected and be with others in a secure and mutual way. Although the fulfillment of each of these two needs is important to the internalization process and to the fostering of feeling more self-determined, it is the third need, autonomy, that is central to self-determination theory. Autonomy refers to "being the perceived origin or source of one's own behavior" and viewing "behavior as an expression of the self" (p. 8, Ryan & Deci, 2002). The more autonomous a person feels, the more self-determined and

the more internal the regulation a person experiences.

In their chapter on the agentic self, Little, Hawley, Henrich, and Marsland (2002) discussed the "balancing of the needs" within self-determination theory and suggested integrating it with two other theories of the agentic self, action-control theory and resource-control theory. These authors discuss how the needs for relatedness and autonomy "shape the motivations as well as the nature and quality of the agency beliefs guiding individuals' actions" and in turn, how these processes then affect whether the need for competence is met (p. 399, Little et al., 2002). They went on to explain the relationship between these needs, beliefs, and the different forms of motivation by saying:

> These self-regulatory beliefs and perceptions would function as the mediators of performance and well-being. In other words, the nature of a person's action-control beliefs will vary depending on the general motivational impetus for actions. Together, the motivational orientation and the action-control belief profiles reflect the overall quality of the agentic self. (p. 399)

Deci, Ryan, and colleagues' (1991, 2000, 2002) research focused on examining these needs and their relationship to motivation to support Self-Determination Theory originally stemmed from studies like Deci (1971) and Lepper, Greene, and Nisbett (1973), in which researchers demonstrated the negative impact that extrinsic rewards can have on intrinsic motivation. Since the reporting of these original studies, other researchers, however, have reported findings that, to some extent, refute the results of Deci (1971) and Lepper et al. (1973). In their meta-analysis, Eisenberger and Cameron (1996) present several such studies spanning the previous 25 years. These authors discuss the "overjustification hypothesis" as one of the reasons that has been provided for why

external rewards act to decrease intrinsic motivation:

> …when individuals are offered a reward to perform an already interesting activity, their perceptions shift from accounting for their behavior as self-initiated to accounting for their behavior in terms of external rewards...Because external rewards provide a strong justification for performing a task, reward recipients tend to discount the role of intrinsic motivation. (p. 1156)

The findings that Eisenberger and Cameron (1996) present in their meta-analysis, however, lead them to conclude that not only is the overjustification effect one of many explanations for changes in an individual's motivation, but also providing extrinsic rewards does not always lead to detrimental effects on an individual's intrinsic motivation.

Other Motivation Theories

Three other theories that preceded Self-Determination Theory relate to this later theory and this study: attribution theory, self-efficacy theory, and expectancy-value theory. Each of these theories are discussed in the following sections and related to self-determination.

Attribution theory. In his book, Weiner (1986) discussed the relationships between a person's attributions and his or her expectations and motivation for success within a given domain. Attributions are the reasons that a person credits for success or blames for failure on a given task, and, according to Weiner, these reasons can be categorized on three dimensions: a) stable versus unstable, b) controllable versus uncontrollable, and c) internal versus external. The combination of these dimensions and their properties provides for different attributions that a person can make within a specific context and on a specific task, and each combination influences, either negatively or

positively, a person's expectations and motivation for success in the context and on the task. To illustrate, if a student credits his academic success to a stable cause (e.g., "I was born smart"), then he will be more certain of academic success in the future, maintaining or possibly increasing his academic motivation/expectations; however, if he credits his academic success to an unstable cause (e.g., "I got lucky"), then his confidence in future academic success will not be bolstered or increased, not increasing or possibly decreasing his academic motivation/expectations. As another example, if an athlete blames her failure in her sport on a controllable cause (e.g., "I just haven't practiced enough"), then she will feel more able to change the outcome to a successful one the next time she participates in a similar task, maintaining or possibly increasing her athletic motivation/expectations; on the other hand, if she blames her failure on an uncontrollable cause (e.g., "I just wasn't born to be an athlete"), then she will not feel able to affect the outcome on the task in the future, not increasing or possibly decreasing her athletic motivation/expectations.

Similar to Self-Determination Theory, Weiner's (1986) attribution theory discusses the importance of feeling in control to a person's motivation within a specific context and on specific tasks. For a person to feel more self-determined and, therefore, more internally motivated, they must also feel in control (or autonomous) within the given domain or on the given task. If a person feels more in control, then she or he will credit success and blame failures on controllable attributions instead of on uncontrollable ones.

Self-efficacy theory. Several aspects of Bandura's (1982) self-efficacy theory are

pertinent to this study. Self-efficacy is defined as a person feeling confident in her or his ability to achieve a specific goal within a specific domain and in a specific situation. In one section of his article, Bandura (1982) discussed the connection between self-efficacy and intrinsic motivation and explained how extrinsic rewards can lead to greater intrinsic motivation, an idea that is somewhat contradictory to self-determination. Bandura focused on incentives that are used to "cultivate personal efficacy" as opposed to those that "manage performance" (p. 133, Bandura, 1982), and went on to illustrate how such positive incentives can lead to greater feelings of efficacy and interest. In this way, the ideas of control and being controlled are central to self-efficacy theory, just as they are to self-determination theory. Bandura talked about a person's need to feel both in control over "outcomes and…the social systems that prescribe what these outcomes will be" and competent in the specific situation in which he or she is performing (p. 141, Bandura, 1982), two needs (autonomy and competence) that self-determination theory also addresses. When a person does not demonstrate such feelings of control and/or competence, they may give in to feelings of "futility" and "despondency" within that situation and others like it, exhibiting decreased levels of motivation (p. 140, Bandura, 1982).

Expectancy-value theory. Several authors have also conducted research that examines individuals' motivation in relationship to their expectations for success and valuing of the given domain or task (Atkinson, 1957; Eccles, 1983; Wigfield & Eccles, 1992). Within this theory, Atkinson (1957) first presented the relationship between expectancies, values, and motivation in an equation: Motivation = Motive x Expectancy x

Incentive (p. 361), and he went on to discuss the multiplicative nature of motives, incentives, and expectancies for increasing or decreasing motivation in a specific situation. In a much later chapter, Eccles (1983) further explained this relationship, focusing more specifically on expectancies and values, rather than motives or incentives. She began by discussing the importance of expectancies for success and the relationships between these and both a person's perceived competence in a domain and the perceived difficulty of the task itself, two factors that also relate to Weiner's (1986) attribution theory. Eccles (1983) then went on to describe "task value" within the motivation equation and listed three components of this construct: a) the task's "attainment value" ("importance of doing well on the task"), b) its "intrinsic or interest value," and c) its "utility value…for future goals" (p. 89). As can be seen, each of these types of values relate specifically either to Ryan and Deci's (2000, 2002) identified regulation (attainment and utility values) or to intrinsic motivation (intrinsic value).

According to expectancy-value theory, then, motivation can be increased either by increasing expectations for success or by increasing one of these three forms of values. Additionally, both expectancy for success and some type of valuing of the task are necessary in order to have any motivation whatsoever for performing the task (i.e., expectancy x zero value = zero; zero expectancy x value = zero). In their later article, Wigfield and Eccles (1992) expanded on what is meant by achievement values, which they felt had been ignored, to some extent, by motivational theorists. These authors then went on to explain that although both the attribution (Weiner, 1986) and self-efficacy theories (Bandura, 1982) of motivation clearly address the importance of the expectancy

part of the expectancy-value equation, neither of these theories addresses directly the importance of the perceived value of performing a specific task. By ignoring this important component of the motivation equation, which is also an important part of self-determination theory's internalization process (internalizing values), these authors argued that previous motivational theories lack a complete picture of the motivational process

Self-Concept, Identity, and Identification Theories

This section discusses four perspectives of self-concept, identity, and identification: philosophical views of the self, identity, and self-concept; developmental perspectives of identity and self-concept; dissonance, disengagement, and disidentification; and multiple identities. In the first section, I introduce philosophical perspectives on identity and why it, as a construct, exists in our language and culture. Because identification and the forming of identity and the self-concept have been viewed as developmental processes, the second section presents different theories that have addressed how these constructs change as a person ages, specifically through adolescence. The third section presents an area of research that, to some extent, acted as an impetus of this study, the stereotype threat research focusing on the disengagement and disidentification processes that derive from such social and contextual threats. Finally, I briefly introduce research that examines multiple identities within individuals.

Philosophical Views of the Self, Self-Concept, and Identity

One perspective of the self divides this construct into two parts: the self-as-subject, or the "I," and the self-as-object, or the "me" (p. 72, Rosenberg, 1979). In his book, Rosenberg (1979) described the "I" as the "spontaneous, unpredictable part of the

self" that performs some action while describing the "me" as "internalizing the general views toward" that action and making judgments about it (p. 72, Rosenberg, 1979). In this way, the self is said to have an identity or identities (the "I") and a self-concept or self-concepts (the "me").

Rosenberg (1979) described the self-concept as an "organization of parts, pieces, and components and that these are hierarchically organized and interrelated in complex ways." For example, a person's self-concept might include elements such as smart, athletic, brother, student, baseball player, and popular. Each of these components, however, would range in significance and importance to the individual himself or herself; therefore, a person's values are very much related to the sense of self. In addition, the qualities that an individual values most, according to Rosenberg, would be the ones at which he or she views himself or herself to excel and vice versa. To illustrate, an athlete who values batting well will value this aspect of his sport because he feels that he is a good batter, while at the same time, he will endeavor to succeed at batting because he values this task.

On the flipside of the self coin is identity, which, according to Damon and Hart (1988), has three components, agency, continuity, and distinctness, and the development of these components are directly linked to each other and to the development of the self-concept. Two of these elements, continuity and distinctness, refer to experiencing "self-sameness over time" and "being a unique individual" and function as "personal identity" (pp. 123-124, Damon & Hart, 1988). According to these authors, the combination of these two parts of a person's identity revolve around the self-concept and often gain from

it a sense of "shape and substance" (p. 126, Damon & Hart, 1988). Identity's third component, agency, refers to one's "volitional control" over one's self and a "perspective on events [that] is self-constructed and in some sense willed" (p. 129, Damon & Hart, 1988). According to Damon and Hart (1988), agency is the most forceful element of identity and, referring to James (1890), is the "active element in all consciousness" (p. 130). They then went on to discuss Mead's (1934) view of identity, as well as self-concept, being situated within a social context and defining identity as being "one's freely chosen response in any given situation" (p. 131, Damon & Hart, 1988).

Instead of focusing on identity and its components' relationships with and differences from self-concept and its components, other researchers and philosophers have focused instead on identity and its relationship with another construct, subjectivity. In her chapter on education and politics, Kenway (1998) presented Foucault's (1976) theories about the relationships among knowledge, power, identity, and subjectivity, and in so doing, discussed knowledge and power as indivisible constructs that through the process of discourse (meaning-making) create subjectivity and identity and sustain power relations. Specifically, Kenway (1998) referred to Foucault's "dividing practices" that institutions use to "distribute, contain, manipulate, and control people" and that "divide people from each other and within themselves, giving them an identity which is both social and personal" (p. 174). Rather than viewing identity, then, as a construct created by the individual alone, Foucault and Kenway described identity as a construction of the institutions in which individuals exist (e.g., schools).

In her article on critical literacy, Hagood (2002) took a similar viewpoint and

discussed the relationship between identity and subjectivity, placing emphasis on not only examining texts as presenting "realities of the world (identities)" but also looking at subjectivity in relationship to these identities and as the "decentered self" who "pushes back on those identities" through "authority and agency" rather than simply accepting them as one's own (p. 255-256). As she described:

> Rather than concentrate primarily on the power of texts to produce multiple identities that are then proffered to readers (as either stable and coherent or as multiple and shifting yet stable and coherent across contexts), the reader as a subject marks the site of a struggle for existence, knowledge, and power. (p. 255, Hagood, 2002, referring to Fuery, 1995)

Hagood (2002) went on to examine one student's experiences and behaviors from this poststructuralist perspective. In her analysis, she looked at this student not as an identity being "produced in texts" but rather as a "reader [who] holds power and is the focus of the study of formation of the self" (p. 256). Hagood's subject positioned himself through movement and meaning making within given contexts and their texts, and it is through such a "transitional state of transforming" that an individual's authority and agency within that context is experienced (p. 257).

By discussing the relationships between identity and subjectivity and connecting them to meaning-making processes that occur within institutions through the creation and maintaining of knowledge and power, these authors provide a more socio-contextual perspective of the self that focuses more on the self as a process and less as an entity made up of parts and components that develop within the individual.

Developmental Perspectives of Identity and Self-Concept

I begin with Erikson's (1956) psychosocial theory of development because at its

center is the formation of identity and what this means to human development. Within this theory, an adolescent is viewed as in need of developing a sense of identity by the end of adolescence "in order to be ready for the tasks of adulthood" (p. 101, Erikson, 1956). During this period of his life, the individual finds his "niche" in society, one that allows him to gain "an assured sense of inner continuity and social sameness which will bridge what he *was* as a child and what he is *about to become*, and will reconcile his *conception of himself* and his *community's recognition* of him" (p. 111, Erikson, 1956). Although this theory focuses on the need for identity formation in adolescence, Erikson (1956) described identity formation as a "lifelong development" that begins at birth and continues until death (p. 113). His theory also discussed the negative consequences of a person's failure to achieve "a basic sense of identity," such as identity confusion and overidentification (p. 287, Goldhaber, 2000).

Unlike Erikson's earlier theory, more recent theories of identity and self-concept have described these constructs as multi-faceted and context-specific. One such theorist is Susan Harter, who influenced my study quite explicitly with her Self-Perception Profiles (1985, 1988) used to examine students' perceived competence within different domains. Rather than examining a person's self-concept as a global construct, Harter's theory and the measures based on it consider a person's self-concept as being divided into many self-concepts that derive from multiple domains (e.g., scholastic, athletic, romantic, friendship). In her studies then, she has examined the relationships among these different self-concepts and the conflicts that can arise as they are developed and become interrelated with one another.

In one such study, Harter and Monsour (1992) demonstrated that as adolescents proliferate a number of role-related selves, these selves become "increasingly differentiated" (p. 257). By "differentiated," these authors meant that the roles that adolescents take up in relation to their contexts and others in it share fewer and fewer attributes as the adolescents get older. Even by seventh grade, these children have begun to designate specific attributes with specific roles in which they participate. Another set of studies with a somewhat different focus found that some students' perceptions of themselves and their motivation substantially changed when making transitions from one grade or one school to the next (Harter, Whitesell, & Kowalski, 1992).

In a later article, Harter and her colleagues summarized many of their findings from previous studies and related them to other theories of the self (Harter, Bresnick, Bouchey, & Whitesell, 1997). Not only did these authors discuss the proliferation of self-roles and increasing differentiation among these roles as adolescents age, but they also talked about the contradictions and conflicts that arise among these different roles and their attributes. They reported studies demonstrating that as adolescents get older and the number of their self-roles multiply, the number of conflicts across roles also increases while the number of conflicts within roles does not. In their studies, Harter and her colleagues (1997) reported examining these conflicts across roles with specific people (e.g., mother, father, peers) rather than in specific domains (e.g., academics, athletics, at work), and found that more conflicts were revealed between certain relationships (i.e., self with mother versus self with father) than between other relationships. In addition, the authors reported findings demonstrating that students' self-esteem fluctuates across these

different relationships, which, according to these researchers, illustrates how "the opinions of significant others, who serve as social mirrors into which one gazes, become incorporated into evaluations of self" (p. 846, Harter et al., 1997). The authors concluded by further explaining that as youths move into later adolescence, they develop the ability to integrate these "multiple selves" that have been and continue to be constructed, which then allows them "to selectively occupy those contexts in which self-evaluations are more favorable, and that provide for a phenomenological sense of unity through the construction of a meaningful narrative of one's life story" (p. 851, Harter et al., 1997).

Dissonance, Disengagement, and Disidentification

My interest in identity and identification began when I first read Steele's (1997) article, "A Threat in the Air: How Stereotypes Shape Intellectual Identity and Performance," in which Steele presented his theories about stereotype threat and its relationship to decreases in academic achievement and to academic disidentification. Stereotype threat was here defined as:

> …the event of a negative stereotype about a group to which one belongs becoming self-relevant, usually as a plausible interpretation for something one is doing, for an experience one is having, or for a situation one is in, that has relevance to one's self-definition. (p. 616, Steele, 1997)

The author then went on to discuss empirical research that demonstrated the effects of stereotype threat on academic achievement and identification. As to academic achievement, Steele and his colleagues have found that when a person is put in a stereotype threat context so that they experience the cognitive and emotional effects of this threat, their performance on an intellectual task (e.g., a math test) is decreased. Although findings such as this are of interest to myself and relate to some extent to my

study, more central to my study are the findings related to stereotype threat's effects on students' self-definitions within the threatened contexts (i.e., disidentification).

According to Steele (1997), stereotype threat affects students' self-definitions by "preventing or breaking a person's identification with school, in particular, those domains of schooling in which the stereotype applies;" therefore, the more that students feel threatened within the academic domain, the more they disidentify from this domain and separate their selves from it. In one study examining this process, Aronson, Blanton, and Cooper (1995) demonstrated how dissonance aroused in one area of the self-concept can lead to "affirming some valued aspect of the self-concept not necessarily related to the threat" (p. 986) that created the dissonance. These findings demonstrated how this dissonance may then further cause a person to change his or her self-concept. The participants in their study modified their self-concepts by disidentifying with the aspect of the self-concept that had been threatened and by then identifying with some other aspect that was not related to this threat, thereby, showing that disidentification with one aspect of the self could lead to identification with other aspects of the self.

Another group of researchers, Major, Spencer, Schmader, Wolfe, and Crocker (1998), examined what they termed "disengagement," which they defined as "a defensive detachment of self-esteem from outcomes in a particular domain, such that feelings of self-worth are not dependent on successes or failures in that domain." These researchers presented devaluing of the domain and discounting of feedback as possible processes underlying disengagement, but they also stated that none of these processes was actually necessary for disengagement to occur. In their studies, Major et al. (1998) demonstrated

that when participants were provided feedback within a stereotype threat context, they disengaged from this feedback by separating their self-esteem from the content of this feedback; therefore, the researchers concluded that, in this specific situation, the participants' feelings of self-worth were no longer contingent upon their success or failure as represented by the feedback.

Rather than inducing dissonance in one particular situation or disengagement from feedback within one specific domain, Osborne (1995, 1997) examined the more general process of disidentification itself by looking at correlations between global self-esteem and measures of academic achievement. In these studies, Osborne found that, generally speaking, as students aged (i.e., from eighth grade to twelfth grade) the correlations between their self-esteem and academic achievement scores dropped, indicating that adolescents in general disidentified with academics as they proceeded through their academic careers. More specifically, however, his results also revealed that specific groups of students (i.e., African-American boys) demonstrated more significant decreases in these correlations than did other groups, and as these students' disidentification, thus, increased as the students' ages increased, their identification with other areas such as athletics and popularity also increased. In order to explain these findings further and discuss their implications, Osborne (1999) compared stereotype threat theory with Ogbu's (1997) cultural-ecological perspective and Majors and Billson's (1992) "cool pose" perspective on African-American boys' disidentification with academics. All three of these perspectives support the idea that the identification process within a given domain, specifically academics, is, to some extent, driven by

social and contextual forces that are created within the institutions and by the individuals within them.

Another interesting study, conducted by Cokley (2000), compared the relationship between grades and academic self-concept for African-American students attending predominantly White colleges and universities (PWCUs) and those attending historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs). The results of this study indicated that for students at PWCUs, grades were significantly related to academic self-concept, but for students at HBCUs, grades were not significantly related to academic success. Instead, for students at HBCUs, faculty interactions was the most significant variable for predicting academic self-concept. In addition, students at HBCUs "reported higher GPAs, more positive quality of student-faculty relationships, and more positive perceptions about evaluations of Black student academic performance" (p. 159), results that, when taken in combination with the earlier discussed findings, demonstrate the importance of the context for influencing students' views of themselves.

Two other groups of authors have examined some of disidentification's underlying processes within the academic context. Steinberg, Dornbusch, and Brown (1992) examined students' underlying beliefs about school and academic success and found that students' beliefs about school success did not affect their academic performance or engagement, while their beliefs about academic failure did affect both their academic performance and engagement. Specifically, if students believed that school failure would result in negative consequences, then they demonstrated better performance and engagement than if they did not view school failure as resulting in

negative outcomes. Steinberg et al. (1992), thus, concluded that students' expectations for success or failure related to their academic performance and engagement. In relation to these findings, Stangor and Sechrist (1998) also discussed the importance of expectations for a person's performance and choices within a given domain (e.g., academics). They presented four sources affecting task choice: internal and direct (e.g., competence), internal and indirect (e.g., expectations about task performance), external and direct (e.g., prejudice), and external and indirect (e.g., inaccurate perceptions of discrimination). The authors went on to explain that the indirect influences have a much greater impact on outcomes than do direct influences and the indirect effects last longer than do direct effects; therefore, influences such as expectations for or perceptions about individual and contextual factors have a much greater bearing on a person's cognitive and emotional experiences than do the actual individual and contextual variables themselves. In sum, it seems that it is a person's beliefs, expectations, and perceptions that are important to influencing both their identification with and performance in a given domain.

One other group of authors, Winston, Eccles, Senior, and Vida (1997), brought together more specifically this idea of beliefs (i.e., expectations) with disidentification theory to explain students' separation of their selves with their academic performance. In their article, Winston et al. discuss the relationship between expectancy-value and disidentification theories for understanding this phenomenon. As they stated, "The expectancy component of the…expectancy/value model of achievement behavior is a good predictor of changes in academic achievement" (p. 185, Winston et al., 1997); however, interestingly, their value component did not act as a predictor of academic

achievement but did predict the courses in which students chose to enroll. These results taken in combination with all of the findings discussed in relationship to dissonance, disengagement, and disidentification up to this point indicate that persons experience certain processes that cause them to develop identities that relate in different ways to different domains and that these processes include adaptations and changes in beliefs, expectations, and perceptions based on the contextual and social forces with which these persons exist.

Multiple Identities

The multiple-identities literature provided a different perspective of how to view both identity and the process of identification. The first article to be discussed relates directly to the previous discussion of the disidentification literature. Pittinsky, Shih, and Ambady (1999) examined "adaptive identities," which are "associated with stereotypes that predict desirable performance in a given context" (p. 503) and relate to the "facilitating effects that some stereotypes may have" (p. 505). These researchers concluded from their findings that rather than participation in stereotype threat conditions resulting in either identification or disidentification on one dimension of identity, participating in such contexts results in "an implicit reorientation of an individual's affect across his or her many identities" (p. 514). In this way, a person subconsciously chooses a "different identification" that is more adaptive for the given context than the threatened identification.

Deaux (1993) discussed "reconstructing social identity" by examining it as being an interrelated structure that is integrated also with personal identity (pp. 4-5). In her

analysis, she describes three dimensions of identities: a) achieved versus ascribed; b) "clearly defined in a public, organizational context" versus "more privately defined;" and c) good versus bad (p. 9). Where an identity falls on these dimensions and the combination of them affects both how a person uses that identity and when they choose to use it. In addition, Deaux (1993) also addressed the influence that contexts have on the use of different identities and called a person's existence within "shifting contexts… identity work" (p. 10). In her conclusion, Deaux stated:

> Identity exemplifies the interrelationships that are possible, and perhaps inevitable, between social and personality psychology, particularly when one seeks to understand behavior in context.

This citation relates to the rest of the literature that I discuss in this section in that all of the following authors focus on how identity (or identities) allow a person to be the same (one personality) and different (social) all at once. For example, Brewer (1991) discussed social identity stems from a "tension between human needs for validation and similarity to others…and a countervailing need for uniqueness and individuation" (p. 477). Examining the effects of either separating oneself to an extreme degree from social groups ("excessive individuation") or overly assimilating with social groups ("excessive deindividuation" p. 481), she hypothesized that the former process would be detrimental to self-esteem, while she found that the latter caused persons to focus less on identification with the more general social group and more on identification with "more distinctive groups" (p. 480).

Gregg (1995) discussed identity not as "a set of self-attributions" but as "a system of self versus anti-self, or Me versus not-Me contrasts, so the meaning of a quality

attributed to Me cannot be known without discovering the contrary not-Me representation(s) which define it" (p. 637). In this article, he described the self as a "dialogue" in which "subjectivity shifts, so that identity takes shape," and brought up the importance of development for bringing together these "discourses about the self" that stem from different states of being. Grotevant's (1993) focus on narrative approaches for understanding the self and identity development followed a similar line of thinking. In his concluding remarks, this author stated:

> Perhaps ego identity development is more like improvisation. The "self" is only one player in the ensemble, with both opportunities to take center stage and imperatives to blend with others. The narrative (the music, the identity) is an ongoing construction.

Similar to these other authors, Phinney (1993) examined the integration of multiple identities and how adolescents experience this process, and in so doing, she demonstrated results similar to Harter and Monsour (1992), that throughout adolescence, children's selves became increasingly differentiated "leading to an integration of two or more group identities" (p. 56). She then went on to address what it means to be able to integrate multiple identities in order to experience "feelings of continuity and wholeness" and the implications not only for an individual herself but also for a society rife with ethnocentrism and intergroup conflict (p. 56, Phinney, 1993).

Research on Student-Athletes

Although not as central to my research questions, literature on student-athletes and studies conducted with them also contributed to my thinking about this study. Because research on high school athletes was not as abundant as that with college-level athletes, I examined both literatures to inform my study. I begin by discussing research

with high school student-athletes and follow with a presentation of some of the college-level student-athlete research.

High School Level

Although most of the literature in this area only relates to my research interests peripherally, it is a literature important to address in order to show what has been done up to this point with student-athletes at the high school level. Most relevant to my study are the examinations of role conflict and identity development with high school student-athletes by Anthrop and Allison (1983) and Goldberg and Chandler (1995). In their article, Anthrop and Allison (1983) focused on female student-athletes and the conflict that they experience as women and athletes. They found that girls who participated in what they termed "non-socially approved" sports such as basketball and track suffered greater conflict between these roles (female and athlete) than did girls who participated in "socially approved" sports such as swimming and gymnastics (p. 106). Despite demonstrating little internal conflict, great external conflict was found leading Anthrop and Allison to conclude that "the female encounters role conflict when it is imposed upon her by those agents and forces outside the sports domain" (p. 110, Anthrop & Allison, 1983).

Examining somewhat similar constructs and processes, Goldberg and Chandler (1995) discussed the developmental issues that high school student-athletes must face as they experience identification processes. They addressed how these students have "to balance conflicting roles, values, and expectations," (Electronic version, p. 2) and brought up the time and energy requirements that they must meet. High school student-

athletes, like other adolescents, must deal with the problem of "role engulfment," which "reduces the motivation to explore alternative roles" and can be problematic within the context of the identification process (Electronic version, p. 2). Goldberg and Chandler (1995) then went on to discuss the extrinsic motivation that is cultivated in these students by citing Butt (1976):

> …athletes are rewarded to an extreme for good behavior (winning) and punished (often inconsistently) for misbehavior. The athlete is not expected to appreciate and internalize the reason for rules and regulation; he [she]…functions under a system of fines and penalties levied against him [her] that force him [her], like a child, to behave. (p. 222, Butt, as referenced by Goldberg & Chandler, 1995)

In addition, these authors mentioned the difficult time that athletes have with disengaging from their athletic roles in order to expand their "role repertoires," especially when they are committed to the role of an athlete (Electronic version, p. 3).

From a somewhat different perspective, Jordan (1999) examined the relationship between athletic participation in high school and students' academic achievement, self-concept, and self-confidence, and found beneficial results of such participation on these different academic variables. In his conclusion, Jordan discussed reasons for these results by stating that participation in sports increases "high school students' personal investments in education by providing them with additional opportunities for interaction with adults" and by allowing them to experience a more "supportive environment that enriches both their love for their respective sports as well as their interest in school" (p. 68)

Two other high school studies were conducted in order to examine student-athletes' moral reasoning (Beller & Stoll, 1995) and the effects of playing sports on adult

development (Spreitzer, 1994). Beller and Stoll (1995) found that high school athletes demonstrated "less consistent, impartial, and reflective moral reasoning" than did high school nonathletes (p. 352), and they explained these results by stating that "something in the competitive process as it is taught and modeled today negatively affects athletes' abilities to reason about moral issues and dilemmas in sport" (p. 361). In contrast, Spreitzer (1994) focused on the more long-term effects of high school athletic participation and found little connection between playing sports and development in later adulthood. From this finding, Spreitzer concluded:

> Consequently, arguments concerning transfer effects from the playing field to the larger game of life receive little support from the data…Perhaps a more appropriate justification for athletics…is from the perspective of intrinsic motivation…That is, some activities are enjoyable and rewarding as an end in themselves. (Electronic version, p. 4)

All of these authors' perspectives taken together, thus, provide a picture of some of the positive and negative effects of playing sports, not only on students' identities but also on their academic achievement, motivation, moral reasoning, and later development.

College Level

Because the literature examining high school student-athletes was somewhat sparse, literature examining college-level student-athletes was helpful to my own developing insight into the types of processes these students experience. The first set of literature that I discuss examines many different variables related to college athletes including academic achievement predictors, motivational factors, and life experiences. Much literature has been published examining the predictors of academic success for college-level athletes (Petrie & Stoever, 1997; Walter, Smith, Hoey, Wilhelm, & Miller,

1987; Young & Sowa, 1992). In the earliest of these studies, Walter et al. (1987) examined predictors of college GPA and graduation for African-American and non-African-American student-athletes and found that raising admission standards (i.e., SAT scores) for these students would not improve academic success as demonstrated by these two variables. Instead, these authors recommended improving these students academic success by affecting other variables (e.g., instructional effectiveness, academic support programs, and attitudinal variables; p. 278, Walter et al., 1987).

Similarly, Young and Sowa (1992) found that using a combination of "noncognitive variables" and more academic variables (i.e., GPA, SAT scores) would more accurately predict African-American student-athletes' academic success in college than using academic variables alone (p. 318). In their analysis, they found that self-concept and long-term goals along with high school grades significantly related to these students' academic success in college and suggested incorporating such noncognitive variables (i.e., self-concept, goals) into criteria for predicting academic success. In contrast to the two previously-reported studies that focused on African-American student-athletes, Petrie and Stoever (1997) examined predictors of academic success for women student-athletes. Like Young and Sowa's (1992) study, they looked at both academic and nonacademic variables influencing college-level student-athletes' academic success. For the female participants in Petrie and Stoever's (1997) study, social support, rather than self-concept or goals, predicted academic performance for younger student-athletes, while none of the nonacademic variables (i.e., social support, negative/positive life stress, competitive anxiety) predicted academic performance for the upper-division student-

athletes (p. 604). Petrie and Stoever concluded by discussing other variables that might be studied in relation to student-athletes' academic performance such as academic locus of control, study habits, and self-esteem, and by recommending that the context in which these student-athletes exist should be taken into consideration when examining their academic performance.

Two other studies examined college-level student-athletes' academic performance in general (Robst & Keil, 2000; Upthegrove, Roscigno, & Charles, 1999). Upthegrove et al. (1999) examined differences in college-level academic performance of student-athletes in revenue- and nonrevenue-producing sports and found that student-athletes in revenue-producing sports demonstrated more negative effects on their academic performance (i.e., repeating classes, being placed on probation, demonstrating lower GPAs) than did student-athletes in nonrevenue-producing sports. These authors blamed the disparities between these two groups on "institutional pressures" that require more time and greater levels of "competitive intensity" of the student-athletes in revenue-producing sports than of the student-athletes in nonrevenue-producing sports (p. 734), and in their conclusions, they place a "portion of the responsibility on the university itself" (p. 735).

In contrast to Upthegrove et al.'s (1999) findings, Robst and Keil (2000) reported positive results of students participating in college-level sports; however, these researchers focused on student-athletes at a smaller college (i.e., Division III institution) who participate in nonrevenue sports. Robst and Keil found that student-athletes who participated in their study took more difficult course loads, demonstrated higher GPAs,

and graduated at higher rates than did nonathletes, and they explained these findings by discussing the college's built-in support systems for these athletes and the effects that playing sports might have on their senses of self and competition (p. 557).

Rather than focusing on academic performance, another group of researchers, Sellers, Kuperminc, and Damas (1997), examined the life experiences of a specific group of college-level athletes, African-American women. These researchers discussed how this group of students compares with other groups of college-level students (i.e., African-American women nonathletes, White women student-athletes, and African-American men student-athletes) and found that of these three other groups, African-American women athletes demonstrated experiences most consistent with African-American women nonathletes. They contrasted African-American women athletes' experiences with African-American men athletes, and reported that the women experienced less racial tension and performed more strongly academically than the men. In comparison to the White women athletes, African-American women athletes viewed their athletic status as more helpful to their learning assertiveness skills (p. 716). In their conclusions, Sellers et al. (1997) argued, like other authors cited in this section, that researchers and policy makers "interested in improving the academic performance of student athletes should focus more on the college life experiences of student athletes."

In addition to studying predictors of academic success, academic performance, and student-athletes' life experiences, researchers have also examined the academic motivation of college-level student-athletes (Simons, Van Rheenen, & Covington, 1999; Snyder, 1996). The results of Snyder's (1996) study demonstrated motivational

differences between White and African-American student-athletes and differences among athletes at different "levels of athletic competition" (p. 661). For example, differences in graduation choice, greater emphasis on final exam studying, and roommate choice were demonstrated for White and African-American student-athletes; however, these differences were only demonstrated within the larger university sample (i.e., Division I institutions) and not the smaller college sample (i.e., Division III institutions). In addition, within the larger university context, African-American student-athletes exhibited a stronger interest in playing professional sports than did White student-athletes. Taking all of these results together, Snyder (1996) concluded that Division III contexts do a better job of promoting "academic goals at the diminution of athletic goals," especially for African-American student-athletes, and that such an example should be followed at other institutions (p. 663).

The other study focusing on student-athletes' academic motivation utilized several academic motivation scales to measure this variable and relate it to other variables such as GPA, athletic-academic commitment, study strategies, and social status (Simons et al., 1999). Simons et al. (1999) grouped student-athletes into four academic motivation groups, success-oriented, overstrivers, failure-avoiders, and failure acceptors, and examined their mean scores on the different academic motivation scales and other variables. They also looked at the percentage of subgroups within this sample (e.g., women, men, nonrevenue, revenue) that made up these different motivation groups. These authors discuss two noncognitive variables, athletic-academic commitment and exploitation, as explaining student-athletes' academic motivation:

> Both variables were higher for Failure-Avoiders and Failure-Acceptors than

> Success-Oriented student athletes and Overstrivers. Failure-Avoiders and Failure-Acceptors were more committed to the athletic role and believed they were more exploited by the university. (p. 158)

Also, interestingly, almost two-thirds of the revenue athletes within the sample were categorized as either failure-avoiders or failure-acceptors. Additionally, for all of the student-athletes, athletic commitment demonstrated a significant negative relationship with GPA. Several other interesting findings were discussed by Simons et al. (1999) such as the more extrinsic motivation that these students experience in both academics and athletics and the cyclical relationship between academic failure, athletic participation, and academic effort that can build on itself, leading student-athletes to put less time and energy into academics and more time and energy into athletics (p. 160).

Two other studies involved qualitative analyses of the academic detachment process that college-level athletes experience while working to be both academically and athletically successful. First, Adler and Adler (1985) found that most student-athletes entered college "feeling idealistic…and optimistic," but as these students progressed, they became more and more detached from academics, and "their naïve, early idealism gradually became replaced by disappointment and growing cynicism" (p. 243-244). In their later book, Adler and Adler (1991) described the "engulfed self" of college-level student-athletes as "specialized, narrow, and singular in focus. Centralized in its identity, it is focused in a single role and comparatively blinded to all others" (p. 230). These researchers summarized the different roles that must be performed and the expectations that must be experienced while student-athletes attempt to negotiate who they are in college.

Finally, my own work with student-athletes resulted in a qualitative analysis of college-level athletes' motivation and identification with academics and athletics (Woodruff, 2002). My study (2002) involved four women and five men student-athletes at a Division-I state university and resulted in the development of a process model relating students' motivation and identification within either or both of the academic and athletic aspects of their lives. As a consequence of this process, students fell into different groups in terms of their academic and athletic motivation and identification, which were then explained based on the students' experiences at the college-level and high school contexts that they had negotiated. Within this model, a "motivational process of being," in which identity and motivational processes with their shared meanings created the individual students' experiences, was portrayed and discussed in terms of the students' experiences. Differences and similarities in the students' perspectives of academics, athletics, and the relationship between these two domains were also addressed, and I concluded by discussing the reciprocal processes that exist connecting motivation and identification processes within and across the domains.

Chapter 3

METHOD

Phase I

Participants

Participants in the first phase of the study consisted of 425 students – 103 seventh graders at two middle schools and 158 ninth and 164 twelfth graders at one high school in a large school district in the southwest. Ethnic make-up of the sample was representative of the school district's population. Table 1 provides a demographic breakdown of the students at each of these grade levels along with the number of students playing sports and not playing sports in each demographic category.

There were several reasons for choosing these particular grade levels for this study. Not only is seventh grade an important transition grade but it is also the level at which school-sponsored sports are initiated in most schools, and this sponsorship might be expected to lend support and legitimacy to the students' self-views as student-athletes. Thus, the students in this grade were at the beginning of their official sports careers even though they may have played their sport for many years before entering seventh grade. Ninth grade also represents a major transition from middle school to high school. For many students, this transition brings with it many changes academically and athletically. For example, student-athletes may begin playing on varsity sports teams during their time as ninth graders. Like the other two grade levels, twelfth grade is a transition period but in a different sense. Some of the students will be ending their formal academic careers within the next year to get jobs, while others will be continuing on to higher-education institutions. A few of the student-athletes may be continuing their athletic careers at the

college or perhaps even professional levels, while most of these athletes will be ending their athletic careers and having to turn to other pursuits.

Each of these time periods represents critical transitions that students (and student-athletes) must experience in their academic and athletic careers. By examining these students' perspectives of themselves and their motivation, this initial phase of the study was meant to provide a cross-sectional longitudinal analysis of the developmental process that these students experience.

Table 1. Sample's Demographic Information.

	White	Latino	Black	Mixed/Other	Missing	Total
7th Grade						
Girls	**28**	**13**	**5**	**5**	**4**	**55**
Sports	17	2*	1	3	0	23*
No Sports	11	10*	4	2	4	31*
Boys	**26**	**11**	**5**	**3**	**3**	**48**
Sports	19	4	5	2	1	31
No Sports	7	7	0	1	2	17
Total	**54**	**24**	**10**	**8**	**7**	**103**
9th Grade						
Girls	**44**	**16**	**8**	**5**	**3**	**76**
Sports	22*	3*	4	2	1	32*
No Sports	21*	12*	4	3	2	42*
Boys	**55**	**14**	**8**	**2**	**3**	**82**
Sports	26	5	5	0	1	37
No Sports	29	9	3	2	2	45
Total	**99**	**30**	**16**	**7**	**6**	**158**
12th Grade						
Girls	**48**	**11**	**14**	**4**	**0**	**77**
Sports	10	0	4	0	0	14
No Sports	38	11	10	4	0	63
Boys	**56**	**16**	**12**	**2**	**1**	**87**
Sports	17	3	7	1	0	28
No Sports	39	13	5	1	1	59
Total	**104**	**27**	**26**	**6**	**1**	**164**

*Missing sports information caused these numbers to be one or two off.

Measures

Participants filled out a short information form about their gender, ethnicity, self-reported GPA, whether they participated in sports, which teams they played on, and the number of years that they had played. Also, six different measures were used to examine four variables: academic perceived competence, athletic perceived competence, academic identification, athletic identification, academic motivation, and athletic motivation. Each of these measures and their statistical characteristics are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Academic and athletic perceived competences were measured using the Scholastic Competence and Athletic Competence subscales of the Self-Perception Profiles for Children (grade 7) and Adolescents (grades 9 and 12; Harter, 1985, 1988). Combined, these profiles measure the academic athletic self-concepts of children ages 8 through 18. Each of the seventh graders' versions (academic and athletic) has six items, while the adolescent versions each have five items, and all are scored on 4-point Likert scales. The academic scale for children has reported internal consistency reliability coefficients of .80 to .85, while the athletic scale has reliabilities of .80 to .84. Harter (1985) reported a factor analysis of the entire set of Profiles revealing a clear six-factor structure (i.e., scholastic competence, social acceptance, athletic competence, physical appearance, behavioral conduct, global self-worth) with all loadings exceeding .30 and most exceeding .50. The academic scale for adolescents has reported internal consistency reliability coefficients of .77 to .91, while the athletic scale has demonstrated reliabilities of .86 to .92. A factor analysis by Byrne (1996) demonstrated that all of these factor

loadings exceeded .50. I also conducted my own reliability analyses with each of these four scales before continuing with the study's central analyses (see Table 2). Each of these scales also contained an Importance Rating scale. Harter's original Importance Rating scales each consisted of two items for academics and two items for athletics. For the purposes of this study, two more items were added to each of these measures to create four four-item measures, one academic and one athletic importance scale for children, and one academic and one athletic importance scale for adolescents. Reliability analyses with the importance scales were run before further analyses were conducted (see Table 3).

The Athletic Identity Measure Scale (AIMS) measures a person's athletic identification (Brewer, 1990). This is a 10-item measure that uses a 7-point Likert scale. Although this scale has been psychometrically tested using adult populations only, no age range has been reported for the scale's use. The scale has a reported test-retest reliability of .89. Studies examining this scale's concurrent validity found moderate correlations with the Physical Self-Perception Profile, the Self-Role Scale, and the Sport Orientation Questionnaire (Hale, James, & Stambulova, 1999). I also conducted my own reliability analyses with this scale before running additional analyses with it (see Table 2).

After an extensive search of the literature revealed no satisfactory measure of academic identification, I decided to create an academic identification scale by modifying the items from the AIMS to fit with the academic domain. For example, one item from the AIMS, "Sports is the only important thing in my life," was modified to say, "My classes are the only important thing in my life." A 10-item scale using a 7-point Likert

scale thus was created to measure how students defined themselves within the academic domain. A reliability analysis of this researcher-developed measure was conducted before additional data analyses were conducted using the students' academic identification scores (see Table 2).

The Academic Self-Regulation Questionnaire (SRQ-A; Ryan & Connell, 1989) measures academic motivation. This is a 32-item measure using a 4-point Likert scale developed to examine how externally versus internally motivated a student is toward academics. Each item is coded as representing either external regulation, introjected regulation, identified regulation, or intrinsic motivation. The authors of this scale, Ryan and Connell (1989), then proposed a formula for figuring out the level of perceived autonomy for the academic area:

$$2 \times \text{intrinsic} + \text{identified} - \text{introjected} - 2 \times \text{external}$$

For my study, rather than using this formula to derive one academic motivation score for each student, I calculated four academic motivation scores for each student, intrinsic, identified, introjected, external. The intrinsic and identified academic motivation scales contained seven items each, while the introjected and external academic motivation scales contained nine items each. Reliability coefficients were calculated on each of these scales before additional data analyses were conducted (see Table 2).

In creating their academic motivation scale, Ryan and Connell (1989) began by "demonstrating…a simplexlike arrangement of correlations between reason categories" (p. 751). The "reason categories" they are referring to are intrinsic, identified, introjected, and external, and a "simplexlike arrangement of correlations" is defined as a pattern that

shows gradations among these four categories. This type of model allowed the researchers to measure motivation as a continuum rather than as polar opposites (i.e., intrinsic vs. extrinsic). In order to examine the validity of this scale, they conducted correlational analyses comparing their measure and its four categories with Harter's (1981) Intrinsic Versus Extrinsic Orientation in the Classroom Scale, Connell's (1985) Multidimensional Measure of Children's Perceptions of Control, DeCharms' (1976) Origin Climate Questionnaire, and ratings by mother, father, and teacher of the motivation of their children/students. Their results demonstrated graded relationships between their self-regulation questionnaire and Harter's (1981) and DeCharms' (1976) measures. Perceived control was most highly related to introjected and internalized motivation on the SRQ-A. As to the parent/teacher ratings, the more internal motivation demonstrated by the child, as measured by the SRQ-A, the more parents and teachers viewed them as motivated.

Further analyses of the SRQ-A demonstrated relationships among its four categories and measures of coping, anxiety, effort, and enjoyment. More internalized motivation, as measured by the SRQ-A, was related to more positive coping, more effort, and more enjoyment. Negative coping was most related to more extrinsic motivation, while anxiety related most positively to the introjected category of the SQR-A. In their article, Ryan and Connell (1989) conducted similar analyses with a prosocial version of their self-regulation measure and reported similar findings. They did not, however, report analyses of or findings for their other self-regulation questionnaires. Despite this lack of statistical support for their other measures, a modified version of their Exercise Self-

Regulation Questionnaire (SRQ-E; Ryan & Connell, 1989) was used and reliability analyses of this measure were conducted within this study.

The modified version of the SRQ-E (Ryan & Connell, 1989) is a 16-item measure with a 7-point Likert scale developed to measure how externally versus intrinsically motivated students are towards athletics. As with the scale measuring academic motivation, each item is coded as representing either external regulation, introjected regulation, identified regulation, or intrinsic motivation. Ryan and Connell proposed using the same formula as used in the academic domain for figuring out how intrinsically motivated students are in the athletic area; however, rather than using this formula to derive one athletic motivation score for each student, I calculated four athletic motivation scores for each student, external, introjected, identified, and intrinsic. Each of these separate athletic motivation scales contained three items, and initial reliability analyses were conducted before using these scales in further data analyses (see Table 2).

Because the items from the Harter Profiles have a somewhat different appearance than the other items that were given, the scholastic and athletic profiles – the children's version for the seventh graders and the adolescent version for the ninth and twelfth graders – made up Part 1 of the survey. Part 2 of the survey consisted of the AIMS items and the researcher-developed academic identification items. For each of these first two parts of the survey, I arranged the academic and athletic domain items every other one in each section. The final two sections of the survey consisted of the modified SRQ-E items (in Part 3) and the SRQ-A items (in Part 4), and each measure was presented just as Ryan and Connell (1989) have used them (see Appendix A for the Measures).

Reliability of measures. Coefficient alphas were calculated for all measures. Separate analyses were run for the seventh and ninth/twelfth grades on the perceived competence scale because, according to Harter, these grades require different measures. The following table lists the number of items and coefficient alpha for each measure.

Table 2. Number of Items and Reliability Coefficients of Each Measure.

Name of Measure	**Number of Items**	**Coefficient Alpha**
Academic Perceived Competence (7^{th} grade)	6	.82
Academic Perceived Competence (9^{th}/12^{th} grades)	5	.78
Athletic Perceived Competence (7^{th} grade)	6	.81
Athletic Perceived Competence (9^{th}/12^{th} grades)	5	.83
Academic Identification	10	.84
Athletic Identification	10	.95
Academic External Motivation	9	.81
Academic Introjected Motivation	9	.85
Academic Identified Motivation	7	.83
Academic Intrinsic Motivation	7	.84
Athletic External Motivation	3	.79
Athletic Introjected Motivation	3	.60
Athletic Identified Motivation	3	.87
Athletic Intrinsic Motivation	3	.87

All of the alpha levels were above .80 except for two: athletic external motivation (.79) and athletic introjected motivation (.60). Of these two, the external scale approximated .80; however, the introjected scale demonstrated fairly low reliability, so this finding should be considered when examining the results of further analyses using this scale.

Analyses of coefficient alphas were also run to examine Harter's importance scales for academics and athletics. These were calculated both without a new "success"

item added (e.g., “Some teenagers think that begin good at sports will help them to be more successful later in life”) and with this item added. Following are the number of items and coefficient alphas for each of the four measures:

Table 3. Number of Items and Reliability Coefficients of Importance Measures.

Name of Measure	Number of Items	Coefficient Alpha
Academic Importance without Success Item	3	.44
Academic Important with Success	4	.54
Athletic Importance without Success Item	3	.75
Athletic Importance with Success	4	.81

Only the athletic importance scale with the success item included met the .80 criteria for reliability. Because of the scales’ generally low reliability, no analyses were calculated using these measures.

Procedure

For the seventh graders, consent was obtained by giving out parental consent forms before the surveys were conducted. These consent forms were given out in the athletic and physical education classes at one of the middle schools and in the physical education classes at the other middle school. While handing out the consent forms, I explained to the students that the purpose of the study was to gain a better understanding of their perspectives of themselves and their school. I asked them for their help in gaining this better understanding, and I also explained that their participation in the study would have no effect on their grades. At this initial introduction of my study, I also informed them of their rights to confidentiality and my responsibility not to allow anyone else to read their responses on my surveys. To ensure a high return rate, I told the students that they would be given a small reward in return for bringing back their consent form. For

the ninth and twelfth graders, however, information/refusal of consent was used as the administrators at the high school requested. Teachers gave out passive consent forms to students in their English, world geography, algebra, and economics classes. These classes were chosen because all students in ninth and twelfth grade are required to take them.

Teachers and coaches in all of the classes (seventh, ninth, and twelfth) collected the consent forms from their students. When I returned to the school to conduct the surveys with the seventh graders, the coaches called out who had returned their consent forms, and these students followed me to a room or part of the gymnasium where they would fill out the surveys. Students whose parents had signed the consent form but had written on it that they did not want their child to participate were allowed to pick a reward (e.g., pencil, key chain) and then returned to their athletic or physical education class. After the rest of the students had also chosen a reward, I asked them to read the assent form that was attached to the top of the survey, sign it if they agreed to participate, and then fill out the short information form that came next in the survey. Once the students had completed both the assent and information forms, I had them turn to Part I of the survey and read the written directions while I went over them out loud. Because Harter's Profiles are somewhat confusing, I went over this section thoroughly and answered students' questions. I also walked around to check students' responses to make sure they were following the directions. Once students had finished this first section, they were told to continue on with the other three sections by reading the directions for each part and then following these instructions to answer each item. A page of directions for each section stated the following: (a) told students to circle one number for each item, (b)

gave an example of how to do this, (c) briefly explained the meanings of the extremes at the ends of the scoring continuum (e.g., “strongly disagree” and “strongly agree”), and (d) asked them to answer honestly. As each student finished, I collected the survey and thanked the student before sending him or her back to participate in the athletic or physical education class.

For the ninth and twelfth graders, the teachers first told me of any students whose parents had signed the consent form requesting that their child not participate. One student also chose not to participate on his own, and he sat quietly without writing on the survey. His survey packet was collected along with all of the others once the other students were finished. I then handed out the surveys and asked the students to read the assent form, sign it if they agreed to participate, and then fill out the short information form. Once the students had completed both the assent and information forms, I had them turn to Part I of the survey and read the written directions while I went over them out loud. Again, because Harter’s Profiles are potentially confusing, I went over this section thoroughly and answered students’ questions. I also walked around to check students’ responses to make sure the directions were being followed. Once students had finished this first section, they were told to continue on with the other three sections by reading the directions for each part and then following these instructions to answer each item. As each student finished, I collected the survey, thanked the student for participating, and directed him or her either to sit quietly or work on an assignment for class.

These processes were repeated in each classroom (seventh, ninth, and twelfth) that I visited over the course of two months in the middle of the school year. The seventh

graders' data (approximately two-thirds of the seventh grade sample) at one middle school were collected over one month. A second middle school was then asked to participate, and seventh graders' data from this school were collected in one day (approximately one-third of the seventh grade sample). The high school students' data were collected over the course of a week.

Data Analysis

Students' responses on the information form were coded (e.g., boy = 1, girl = 2), and these codes along with the students' responses on all of the measures were entered into a database. To construct the academic and athletic perceived competence scores for each participant, each student's mean score was calculated on the self-concept items only (not the importance items) of Harter's profiles (i.e., 6 for the 7th grader scales, 5 for the adolescent scales). For the purposes of this study, the importance scores were not used mainly because of their low reliability coefficients. Mean scores for each student also were calculated on the academic and athletic identification scales. As stated earlier, each student also received four academic motivation scores (external, introjected, identified, and intrinsic) and four athletic motivation scores. Keeping the forms of motivation separate by calculating eight mean scores for each student made it possible for me to conduct more specific analyses using these scores and to examine how these different forms of motivation individually related to each other, to identification, and to perceived competence.

Initially all analyses were conducted first with the whole sample. Mean comparisons and repeated measures within-subjects analyses were run to examine

differences in how students scored on each of the 12 measures included in the data analysis. A simple correlational analysis was then run to examine the following hypotheses:

a) Academic identification will be positively related to intrinsic and identified academic motivation and academic perceived competence, while it will be negatively related to athletic identification, intrinsic athletic motivation, and athletic perceived competence.

b) Athletic identification will be positively related to intrinsic and identified athletic motivation and athletic perceived competence, while it will be negatively related to academic identification, intrinsic academic motivation, and academic perceived competence.

c) Identification within each domain may be related to introjected and external motivation within the given domain, but this relationship will not be as strong as identification's relationships with the more internal forms of motivation.

d) Perceived competence within each domain will also be related to the different forms of motivation within the given domain and follows the same pattern as identification's relationship with motivation (i.e., relating more strongly to the more internal forms of motivation than to the more extrinsic forms).

e) The different forms of motivation within each domain will be related to the two forms of motivation next to them on the internalization continuum (e.g., intrinsic and identified motivation) but will have no relationship or a negative relationship with those forms that are further down the continuum (e.g.,

intrinsic and external motivation).

f) The different forms of motivation within academics will not be related to the different forms of motivation within athletics.

After running these initial analyses, I then conducted several multiple regression analyses to examine more specifically the relationships among these variables. Initially, I ran analyses examining the predictors of athletic and academic identification. Several hypotheses that were derived after the initial correlational analysis were then examined by these regression equations, as follows:

a) All four forms of academic motivation will significantly predict academic identification, while all four forms of athletic motivation will significantly predict athletic identification. The equation for the athletic domain will demonstrate more significant results than the equation for the academic domain.

b) Identified academic motivation and academic perceived competence will significantly predict academic identification almost to the same extent as the four forms of academic motivation. The same predictors in the athletic domain will also demonstrate similar results for athletic identification but to an even greater extent.

c) Variables in one domain will not significantly predict identification in the other domain (e.g., the forms of academic motivation will not predict athletic identification).

In addition, a regression analysis was run to examine whether academic

identification and perceived competence significantly predicted intrinsic academic motivation. Several sets of multiple regressions were also used to examine whether perceived competence was a mediator of the relationship between identification and identified motivation and between identification and intrinsic motivation in each domain. Similarly, structural equation modeling was conducted to examine the relationships among identification, perceived competence, and identified motivation in each of the two domains.

Finally, several cluster analyses were run to examine the effects of using different variables to cluster students. By using cluster analysis, I was able to use the different variables in my study to organize students into previously "unknown" groups and compare those groups (Stockburger, 1996). The term "unknown" here refers to the fact that the groups are not formed from pre-identified characteristics but come from grouping together individuals who score similarly on two or more scales. In order to create these groups for comparison, two-step cluster analysis was used. First, scores for academic and athletic identification were used to cluster students, and these clusters were then entered as a grouping variable so that mean comparisons on the other 10 measures could be conducted for the different groups. A second set of two cluster analyses were then run using the eight motivation variables: a) the four forms of academic motivation, and b) the four forms of athletic motivation. Again, each of the clusters created in each of these three analyses were then entered as grouping variables, and mean comparisons among the different clustering groups were conducted using the remaining variables. Finally, a cluster analysis was run using academic and athletic perceived competence as the

clustering variables. As with the other analyses, the derived clusters were entered as grouping variables and used to conduct mean comparisons on the remaining 10 variables.

After running all of these analyses for the whole group of students, I examined the results and then conducted further analyses comparing the three grade levels to examine developmental patterns among the students' scores and variable relationships that were most interesting or significant in the initial analyses. Hypotheses that these analyses examined included:

a) For all three grade levels, the same relationships will exist among motivation, identification, and perceived competence within both domains; however, as students' ages increase, the relationships between the academic and athletic domain will either decrease if positive or increase if negative.
b) As students' ages increase, their scores in academic identification, academic perceived competence, and the forms of academic motivation will decrease.
c) As students' ages increase, their scores in athletic identification, athletic perceived competence, and the forms of athletic motivation will decrease.

An examination of the information provided by the students and the initial findings of this first phase provided the basis for choosing the participants for the second phase of the study.

Phase II

This second phase of the study was designed not only to investigate further the relationships examined in Phase I but also to examine further the descriptions of high school experiences the college athletes had discussed in my previous study (Woodruff,

2002). In the process model derived from my interviews with the college athletes, I represented how they had described their high school experience using identification and internalization terminology. My qualitative data analysis in that study revealed four themes relating to the athletes' high school experiences:

1) High athletic identification,

2) Intrinsic/internalized athletic motivation

3) Low to high academic identification

4) External/introjected OR identified/integrated academic motivation

Because these themes derived from the athletes' memories of their high school years, which for some were almost four years in the past, I wondered about how differently the students may have reported them if I had interviewed them in high school. Due to this possible inaccuracy, as well as a lack of information about their middle school experiences, I hoped that collecting and analyzing qualitative information from high school students (including student-athletes) would help me to understand better the identification and motivation processes that were referred to by the college student-athletes. In addition to providing a clearer picture of these athletes' experiences, the qualitative analysis included the perspectives of non-athletes, whose perspectives were not examined in the college study. The non-athlete experiences and perspectives provided both a contrast to the athletes' experiences and perspectives and a comparison of the similarities within adolescents' identification and motivational processes.

Participants

After examining the students' identification and motivation scores, examining

some of the initial relationships among the different variables, and comparing the different grade levels in these examination, I decided to focus on ninth graders. This decision was based on differences that the mean comparisons and the cluster analysis demonstrated for ninth graders. Ninth graders' identification scores in academics and athletics were then examined to select students who represented five groups across both genders:

a) High identification in both academics and athletics
b) High identification in academics but low identification in athletics
c) Low identification in academics but high identification in athletics
d) Low identification in both academics and athletics
e) Average identification in both academics and athletics

"High" was defined as being more than one standard deviation above the mean for ninth graders on a measure, while "low" was defined as being more than one standard deviation below the mean for ninth graders on a measure. Students in the "average" category demonstrated scores that were close to the ninth grade mean on a measure. Because researchers have found differences among athletes who play different sports (Upthegrove, Roscigno, & Charles, 1999), I also attempted to include students who represented several different sports (e.g., basketball, football, soccer). Both gender and ethnic differences have also been found among student-athletes (Sellers, Kuperminc, & Damas, 1997; Upthegrove, Roscigno, & Charles, 1999); therefore, at least one boy and one girl representing each group was included, and I tried to include students from different ethnic backgrounds.

Based on these criteria, 20 ninth graders were asked to participate, and 12 ninth graders agreed to participate in Phase II of the study. Five girls and five boys, one of each representing each group, participated. One extra boy representing the high academic and athletic identification and one extra girl representing the average academic and athletic identification groups also participated, bringing the total number of participants to 12. By examining students with various degrees of academic and athletic identification (and motivation), I hoped to link the differing levels of identification and motivation with the students' experiences and perspectives of academics and athletics through qualitative analyses.

Procedure

This phase of the study included both semi-structured interviews and participant observations. Two formal interviews and several informal interviews were conducted with each student over the course of five months, and during these five months, each student was observed three to six times either in the classroom, at a practice, or in the cafeteria.

The initial interviews took place either after school, before school, or during the students' lunchtime, and were audio taped and later transcribed. I asked students questions about their academic and athletic backgrounds (e.g., "Please describe your academic background/how you view your past as a student," "When did you start playing your sport?" "How did you get started playing it?"); their motivation in these areas (e.g., "Describe how confident you are in academics/athletics," "Why do you play your sport?" "What are your top five goals?"); and their identification with these areas (e.g., "If

someone asked you to describe who you are and what you do, what would you tell them?" "What do you think your most important role is and why?"). After conducting the first interviews and while working on observing the students in different contexts (e.g., their favorite class, an athletic practice for the student-athlete, at lunch), I also had the opportunity to talk more informally with each student. Generally, during these interviews, I sat with the student at lunch or in some other context where we could talk and discussed different areas or topics that they had touched on in the initial interview (e.g., how their classes were going, who their friends were, what they thought about different teachers).

After finishing the observations and transcribing the initial formal interview, I conducted a second final interview with 11 of the students (the girl representing the high academic identification/low athletic identification category could not be reached during the summer). The questions in this interview were derived from the student's responses in the first interview and from my observations of the student. Also, I used a few self-report-type paper-and-pencil instruments to try to tap more into the student's identity and self-definitions. The instruments included:

a) answering the question, "Who am I?";
b) filling in 4 fill-in-the-blank statements repeated 5 times each (20 total; i.e., "I am ____ when I'm with my parents," "I am ____ when I'm with my friends," "I am ____ when I'm in class," "I am ____ when I'm playing sports");
c) categorizing each word that they placed in each blank as either "important," "less important," or "least important;"
d) listing pairs of words from their fill-in-the-blank statements that conflicted;

e) rating the importance of several roles that I derived from their interviews and listed for them (e.g., List: student, daughter, athlete, Christian, friend; Ratings: 1 to 5); and

f) rating from 1 to 10 each word in a list of 10 words that I created as best to worst descriptor of themselves (e.g., hard-working, smart, athletic, popular, focused, responsible).

These interviews were conducted after the school year had ended and took place at the student's house. In this way, I was able to obtain a better idea of each student's home context, as I usually met at least one family member. I transcribed each student's interview and examined responses on the paper-and-pencil instruments.

During the initial interview, I asked the student for his or her favorite and least favorite classes, and the observations then took place during each of these classes as well as other non-academic times (e.g., lunchtime). For those students who had athletic practices, I also attended one of these practices, except for one student-athlete (a golfer) whose practices had ended before I had a chance to observe her. Field notes were taken during these observations. The observations focused on information such as the participant's interactions with teachers, coaches, other students, and other athletes; the teachers', coaches', and other students' behaviors; the participants' behavior in and outside of the classroom; how they handled different types of situations; and the types of choices and decisions that the student made in different contexts.

Data Analysis

Having been both a successful athlete throughout middle school and high school

(i.e., an All-State basketball player) and a successful student (i.e., Salutatorian of my senior class), I came into this analysis with the perspective that a person can be successful in both athletics and academics. I have experienced both the negative and positive aspects of being a student-athlete while at the same struggling to come to terms with who I am and who I want to become. These experiences allowed me to have a more informed viewpoint of these students and to provide a more accurate picture of what they are experiencing. On the other hand, my experiences as a student-athlete also may have caused me to confuse my experiences with those of the students in my study. In conducting my analyses, I attempted to use my perspective to relate to the students while at the same time keeping my mind open to "give voice" to their own individual perspective (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 43).

After all of the data were collected, the transcripts and set of observation field notes were combined for each student to create a picture of their identity and self-perception. Using Strauss and Corbin's (1998) grounded theory approach, the coding process began after the initial interviews were completed and continued until the final interviews and observations were conducted. At first, I used open coding to derive concepts from the data and explore the properties and dimensions of these concepts. Axial coding then was used to relate derived categories and create a structure to represent the patterns and processes that the data revealed. After conducting these initial analyses, I then created a picture of each student and represented this picture as a case study. By coming up with these 12 case studies, I was able to provide more in-depth representations of what the quantitative identification categories mean to specific students.

I then selectively coded the data in order to examine both the processes underlying these students' quantitative identification and motivation relationships and the processes addressed by the college athletes in my previous study (Woodruff, 2002). These analyses led to an extension of the process model that I had derived from the college athlete data and the derivation of a central phenomenon underlying the processes represented by the model.

In order to address Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria of credibility, I used the technique of peer debriefing. This process consisted first of me conducting the interviews and observations and constructing the initial categories from coding of the data. I then met with my supervisor to discuss this process and the initial analyses to gain further insight into what the data revealed. We continued to meet on a regular basis to discuss the analysis process and the direction in which my data was leading me. In conjunction with peer debriefing, triangulation by using multiple sources, multiple methods, and multiple theories also contributed to the "trustworthiness" of my qualitative analysis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). My multiple sources consisted of interviewing and observing participants several times; collecting interview and observation data from many participants (i.e., 12); and including participants who varied according to specific variables to make comparisons among their data. The multiple methods in this study included using interviews and observations along with quantitative data. By combining motivation theories with identity/self-concept theories (e.g., Harter's developmental theories, 1992, 1997), multiple identity theories, and disidentification theory, I used a multiple-theory approach to analyze the data.

Chapter 4

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS & DISCUSSION

My first analysis included the entire sample of 425 students. By focusing on these calculations and comparisons first, I was able to examine the more general relationships among perceived competence, identification, and the types of motivation across and within the academic and athletic domains. These initial analyses provided a picture of the relationships that students in general experience as adolescents and then supplied the basis for additional and more specific quantitative and qualitative analyses reported in the next two chapters.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Testing the Normality Assumption

The Kolmogorov-Smimova and Shapiro-Wilk tests for examining the normality assumption were run on all 12 of the scales. For the K-S test, significance at the .001 level was established for all of the measures except for two: academic identification (.015) and academic intrinsic motivation (.001). For the Shapiro-Wilk test, significance at the .001 level was established for all but one scale: academic identification (.040). These results indicated that the total sample on all of these measures was not normally distributed. Mean comparisons are robust to such a failure to meet the normality assumption; however, relationships among the variables may have been attenuated due to this failure to meet the normality assumption. Because of this attenuation, an examination of the variables' frequency distributions was conducted. In the academic domain,

perceived competence and introjected and external motivation were slightly negatively skewed, while identified motivation was extremely negatively skewed, identification was normally distributed, and intrinsic motivation was positively skewed. In the athletic domain, perceived competence and intrinsic motivation were slightly negatively skewed, while identified motivation was normally distributed, and identification and introjected and external motivation were positively skewed. Within the correlations and other relational analyses, these distributions and their attenuating effects should be considered. For example, if a variable is negatively skewed (e.g., external academic motivation) and another is positively skewed (e.g., intrinsic academic motivation), the relationship between these two variables may be weakened.

Means and Repeated Measures

Means. The following table provides the means, standard deviations, and range of scores on each of the 12 measures.

Table 4. Means and Ranges on All Measures.

Name of Measure	**Mean (SD)**	**Range**
Academic Perceived Competence (AcPC)	2.94 (.67)	1 to 4
Athletic Perceived Competence (AthPC)	2.65 (.73)	1 to 4
Academic Identification (AcID)	3.96 (1.06)	1 to 7
Athletic Identification (AthID)	3.23 (1.62)	1 to 7
External Academic Motivation (AcEXT)	2.77 (.60)	1 to 4
Introjected Academic Motivation (AcINTRO)	2.74 (.62)	1 to 4
Identified Academic Motivation (AcIDMOT)	3.12 (.58)	1 to 4
Intrinsic Academic Motivation (AcINTR)	2.17 (.66)	1 to 4
External Athletic Motivation (AthEXT)	2.81 (1.52)	1 to 7
Introjected Athletic Motivation (AthINTRO)	2.69 (1.26)	1 to 7
Identified Athletic Motivation (AthIDMOT)	4.06 (1.85)	1 to 7
Intrinsic Athletic Motivation (AthINTR)	4.58 (1.80)	1 to 7

A comparison of these means indicated that academic perceived competence as well as academic identification were higher than athletic perceived competence and athletic identification. Examination of the perceived competence means revealed that this sample of students demonstrated above mid-point (2.5) levels in both academics and athletics; however, the means for both forms of identification fell below the mid-point of the scale (4.0). In addition, the athletic identification measure revealed much greater variation than the academic identification measure.

As to motivation, external and introjected academic motivation means were approximately equal, and both fell below the identified academic motivation mean, which was the highest academic motivation mean. Intrinsic academic motivation demonstrated the lowest mean of all motivation types, academic or athletic. The three more extrinsic academic motivations were above the mid-point (2.5); in contrast, the academic intrinsic motivation mean fell below this mid-point and almost one whole point below the identified academic motivation mean. In athletics, again, external and introjected motivations were close to being equal. A large difference between these more extrinsic athletic motivations and identified motivation (2.81/2.69 and 4.09) also was revealed. Intrinsic athletic motivation was the highest among the forms of athletic motivation. Both external and introjected athletic motivation means fell below the mid-point of the scale (4.0), while identified and intrinsic athletic motivation means were above this mid-point.

Repeated Measures. A repeated measures within-subjects analysis with the four academic motivation measures as the repeated factor demonstrated a significant effect, $F(1, 405) = 116.97$, $p < .001$, while a similar analysis conducted with the four athletic

motivation measures also revealed significant results, $F(1, 414) = 573.25$, $p < .001$. In each domain, post-hoc paired-samples t-tests were then run to compare the four types of motivation. Within both the academic and athletic domains, all of the types of motivation differed significantly ($p < .001$) from each other except external and introjected motivation.

Correlations

Because the sample size was large and there were many comparisons made, increasing the chance of a Type I error, the significance level for all correlations was set at .001 (see Table 5 for the Correlation Matrix).

Academics. Within the academic domain, perceived competence and identification were significantly related (.19). Perceived competence also was related significantly to both intrinsic and identified academic motivation (.30, .25, respectively) but was not related significantly to more extrinsic forms of motivation (i.e., introjected and external). Academic identification, on the other hand, was related significantly to all four forms of academic motivation. A closer examination of these relationships revealed that identification was related most strongly to identified motivation (.63), then introjected motivation (.58), then intrinsic motivation (.47), and was much less strongly related to external motivation (.26).

All four forms of academic motivation were significantly related to one another except intrinsic and external motivation. Identified and introjected motivation demonstrated the strongest relationship (.63), while identified and intrinsic motivation showed the next strongest relationship (.59). Introjected and external motivation also

Table 5. Correlation Matrix of All Variables with the Whole Sample of Students

	AcPC	AcID	AcINTR	AcIDMOT	AcINTRO	AcEXT
AcPC	1.00					
AcID	.19*	1.00				
AcINTR	.30*	.47*	1.00			
AcIDMOT	.25*	.63*	.59*	1.00		
AcINTRO	.13	.58*	.43*	.63*	1.00	
AcEXT	.04	.26*	.15	.27*	.51*	1.00

	AthPC	AthID	AthINTR	AthIDMOT	AthINTRO	AthEXT
AthPC	1.00					
AthID	.72*	1.00				
AthINTR	.63*	.73*	1.00			
AthIDMOT	.67*	.85*	.83*	1.00		
AthINTRO	.39*	.59*	.48*	.63*	1.00	
AthEXT	.47*	.68*	.55*	.67*	.72*	1.00

	AcPC	AcID	AcINTR	AcIDMOT	AcINTRO	AcEXT
AthPC	.16*	-.05	.02	-.04	.00	.07
AthID	.00	.16*	.03	.02	.16	.19*
AthINTR	.10	.12	.08	.09	.11	.12
AthIDMOT	.06	.18*	.07	.14	.20*	.18*
AthINTRO	-.04	.20*	.09	.12	.31*	.23*
AthEXT	-.08	.14	.05	.05	.28*	.29*

*p = .001

were related significantly to one another (.51). Although both the intrinsic/introjected motivation relationship (.43) and identified/external motivation relationship (.27) were significant, the patterns of these relationships demonstrated that each form of motivation was more highly correlated with the two forms of motivation next to it on Ryan and Deci's (2002) continuum than those further away from it.

Athletics. Within the athletic domain, perceived competence and identification were related significantly (.72). Perceived competence also was significantly related to all four forms of motivation, as was identification; however, the relationships between identification and the types of motivation were stronger than the relationships between perceived competence and the forms of motivation. Both perceived competence and identification related most strongly to identified motivation (.67, .85, respectively) and next most strongly to intrinsic motivation (.63, .73, respectively).

All four forms of athletic motivation related significantly to one another. Intrinsic and identified athletic motivation were related most strongly (.83), while external and introjected motivation revealed the next strongest relationship (.72). Interestingly, an intrinsic/external relationship (.55) that was stronger than the intrinsic/introjected relationship (.48) was revealed, while an identified/external relationship (.67) that was stronger than the identified/introjected relationship (.63) also was demonstrated. These unexpected findings, however, may have resulted from the low reliability of the introjected athletic motivation scale.

Comparing academics and athletics. Examining both domains, the relationship between perceived competence and identification was much stronger for the athletic

domain (.72) than for the academic domain (.19). Also perceived competence in athletics was related more strongly to any form of athletic motivation than perceived competence in academics to any form of academic motivation. The same was true for the identification/motivation relationships except to a lesser extent; thus, the identification/motivation relationships in athletics were more similar to these same relationships in academics than the perceived competence/motivation relationships in athletics were to the perceived competence/motivation relationships in academics. For both academics and athletics, identification related most strongly to identified motivation than any other forms of motivation.

Among the different forms of motivation, the academic domain demonstrated more differentiation than did the athletic domain. For example, intrinsic and external academic motivation were not correlated significantly, while this same relationship in the athletic domain was significant. Also, the correlations among the different forms of athletic motivation were much stronger than those for the forms of academic motivation. In addition to these findings, the relationship between intrinsic and identified motivation was much stronger in the athletic domain (.83) than in the academic domain (.59).

Relating academics and athletics. Academic and athletic perceived competence had a slight but significant association (.16), as did academic and athletic identification (.16). Academic perceived competence was not related significantly to any other variables in the athletic domain, while the same was true for athletic perceived competence and the academic variables. Academic identification was related significantly to identified and introjected athletic motivation (.18, .20, respectively), while athletic

identification related significantly to external academic motivation (.19).

Examining the motivation relationships within the two domains revealed that intrinsic and identified academic motivation were not related significantly to any form of athletic motivation. Introjected and external academic motivation scores, however, were related significantly to the three extrinsic forms of athletic motivation – external (.28, .29), introjected (.31, .23), and identified (.20, .18) – and not to intrinsic athletic motivation.

Multiple Regression Analyses

The significance level for all equations and partial correlations was set at .001.

Predicting academic identification. In a regression analysis entering all four forms of academic motivation as predictors of academic identification, the r-squared was .47 ($p < .001$). In this equation, both identified and introjected forms of academic motivation were significant predictors of academic identification (.35, .27, respectively); however, neither intrinsic nor external academic motivation was a significant predictor of academic identification (.13, -.03, respectively).

A second exploratory analysis was run entering academic perceived competence and identified academic motivation as predictors of academic identification, and an r-squared of .40 was found ($p < .001$). In this equation, perceived competence was not a significant predictor of identification (.07), while identified motivation was a significant predictor (.61).

Two other regression analyses examined the variables within the athletic domain as predictors of academic identification. The first of these analyses examined the four

forms of motivation in the athletic domain as predictors of academic identification. The r-squared for this analysis was .05, which was significant but low, and none of the forms of athletic motivation were revealed as significant predictors of academic identification. The second analysis included identified athletic motivation, athletic perceived competence, and athletic identification as predictors of academic identification. The r-squared revealed was .09, which was significant but low. Unlike the first analysis, a significant predictor, athletic perceived competence, was revealed and demonstrated a partial negative correlation of -.25 with academic identification.

Predicting intrinsic academic motivation. A regression analysis examining academic identification and perceived competence as predictors of intrinsic academic motivation resulted in a significant r-squared of .26. Both variables significantly predicted intrinsic academic motivation.

Predicting athletic identification. Regression analyses similar to those investigating academic identification were conducted examining athletic identification. In the first of these equations, all four forms of athletic motivation were entered as predictors of athletic identification, resulting in a significant r-squared of .75. Further analyses revealed that only identified and external athletic motivation significantly predicted athletic identification (.53, .24, respectively).

In the second analysis with athletic perceived competence and identified athletic motivation entered into the regression equation, an r-squared of .76 was revealed ($p <$ .001). In contrast to the similar academic identification analysis, both predictors were found to be significant (identified motivation, $r = .71$; perceived competence, $r = .40$).

Again, two other regression analyses examined variables within the other domain, academics, as predictors of athletic identification. The first of the equations included all four forms of academic motivation as predictors of athletic identification and resulted in a significant r-squared of .05. Although no one form of academic motivation reached a significance level of .001, external academic motivation's partial correlation with athletic identification approached significance as a predictor (r = .14, p = .007). Another regression analysis with identified academic motivation, academic perceived competence, and academic identification as predictors of athletic identification resulted in a significant r-squared of .04. Academic identification significantly predicted athletic identification (r = .20).

Perceived Competence as Mediator

Academics. Several regression analyses examined perceived competence as a mediator of the relationship between identified academic motivation and academic identification. The results of three separate regression equations were compared. The steps followed in this analysis and their results included:

1. Identified academic motivation as a predictor of academic identification (r^2 = .40; pr = .63)
2. Identified academic motivation as a predictor of academic perceived competence (r^2 = .06; pr = .25)
3. Identified academic motivation and perceived competence as predictors of academic identification (r^2 = .40; pr = .61, .07)

Because the partial correlation between identified academic motivation and academic identification did not significantly decrease when academic perceived competence was included in the last equation (moving from .63 to .61), academic perceived competence was not found to be a mediator of the relationships between

academic identification and identified academic motivation. On the other hand, the change in the partial correlation between academic perceived competence and identification (from .25 to .07) indicates that identified academic motivation acted as a partial mediator of these two variables.

A similar process was followed to examine academic perceived competence as a mediator of the relationship between intrinsic academic motivation and academic identification. The steps followed in this analysis and their results included:

1. Intrinsic academic motivation as a predictor of academic identification (r^2 = .22; *pr* = .47)
2. Intrinsic academic motivation as a predictor of academic perceived competence (r^2 = .09; *pr* = .20)
3. Intrinsic academic motivation and academic perceived competence as predictors of academic identification (r^2 = .22; *pr* = .43, .08)

Because the partial correlation between intrinsic academic motivation and academic identification was not significantly decreased by including academic perceived competence in the last equation (going from .47 to .43), academic perceived competence was not found to be a mediator of the intrinsic-motivation-identification relationship. Again, as with the identified academic motivation regression analyses, the change in the partial correlation between academic perceived competence and identification (from .20 to .08) indicates that intrinsic academic motivation acted as a partial mediator of these two variables.

Athletics. Similar to the analyses run in the academic domain, perceived competence in the athletic domain was examined as a mediator of the relationship between identified athletic motivation and athletic identification. The steps followed in this analysis and their results included:

1. Identified athletic motivation as a predictor of athletic identification (r^2 = .72; *pr* = .85)
2. Identified athletic motivation as a predictor of athletic perceived competence (r^2 = .44; *pr* = .67)
3. Identified athletic motivation and perceived competence as predictors of athletic identification (r^2 = .76; *pr* = .71, .40)

The partial correlation between athletic identification and identified athletic motivation did drop a little (from .85 to .71) when perceived competence was included in the equation. The small change warrants calling athletic perceived competence only a partial mediator of the relationship between athletic identification and identified athletic motivation. In fact, the partial correlation for athletic perceived competence and identification decreased more (from .67 to .40), indicating that identified athletic motivation acted as more of a mediator between these two variables than athletic perceived competence did between athletic identification and identified athletic motivation.

Athletic perceived competence then was examined as a mediator of the relationship between intrinsic athletic motivation and athletic identification. The steps followed in this analysis and their results included:

1. Intrinsic athletic motivation as a predictor of athletic identification (r^2 = .53; *pr* = .73)
2. Intrinsic athletic motivation as a predictor of athletic perceived competence (r^2 = .39; *pr* = .72)
3. Intrinsic athletic motivation and athletic perceived competence as predictors of athletic identification (r^2 = .64; *pr* = .50, .50)

The partial correlation between athletic identification and identified athletic motivation did drop a little (from .73 to .50) when perceived competence was included in the equation. The change warrants calling athletic perceived competence only a partial

mediator of the relationship between athletic identification and identified athletic motivation. As with identified athletic motivation, intrinsic athletic motivation also acted as a partial mediator of the relationship between athletic identification and perceived competence, which was indicated by the decrease in the partial correlation between these two variables (from .72 to .50) when intrinsic athletic motivation was added to the equation.

Structural Equation Modeling

Academics. Three models were tested to represent the relationships among academic perceived competence, academic identification, and identified academic motivation. Each model is represented in Figure 2 with the paths that were found using structural equation modeling analyses.

The last model with identified academic motivation being predicted by academic identification and perceived competence demonstrated the best fit; however, the first model, which has academic identification as the dependent variable, resulted in an almost equivalent r-squared. The second model, which had a much lower r-squared, was included for a complete comparison of the relationships among the three variables.

Athletics. Three models also were examined to represent the relationships among perceived competence, identification, and identified motivation in the athletic. Each model is represented in Figure 3 with the paths that were found using structural equation modeling analyses.

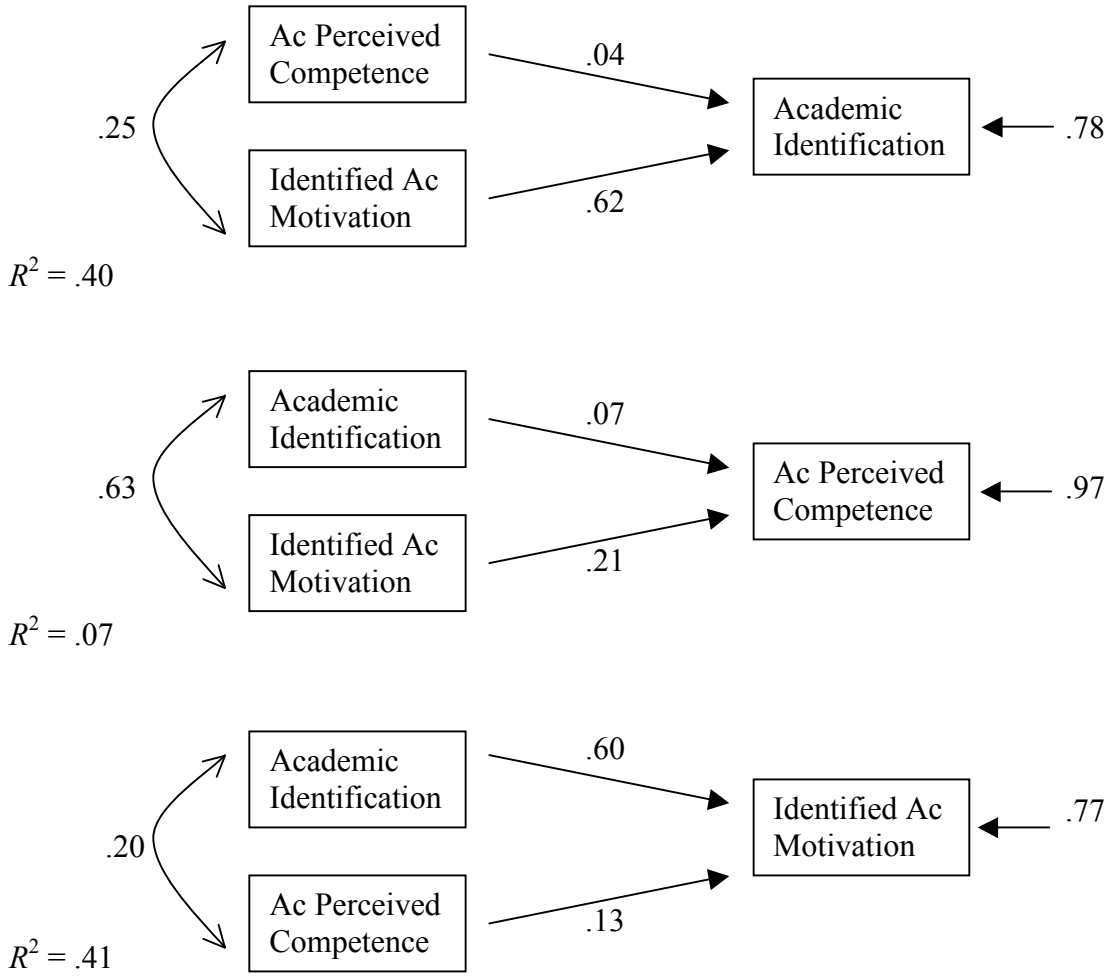

Figure 2. Structural Equation Modeling Testing for Fit among Academic Perceived Competence, Academic Identification, and Identified Academic Motivation

Comparing these three models, the first one with athletic identification as the dependent variable demonstrated the best fit and highest r-squared, but the third model resulted in nearly equivalent to the first model. These results are similar to what was found for the academic domain, and every r-squared demonstrated for the athletic domain was much higher than every r-squared found in the academic domain.

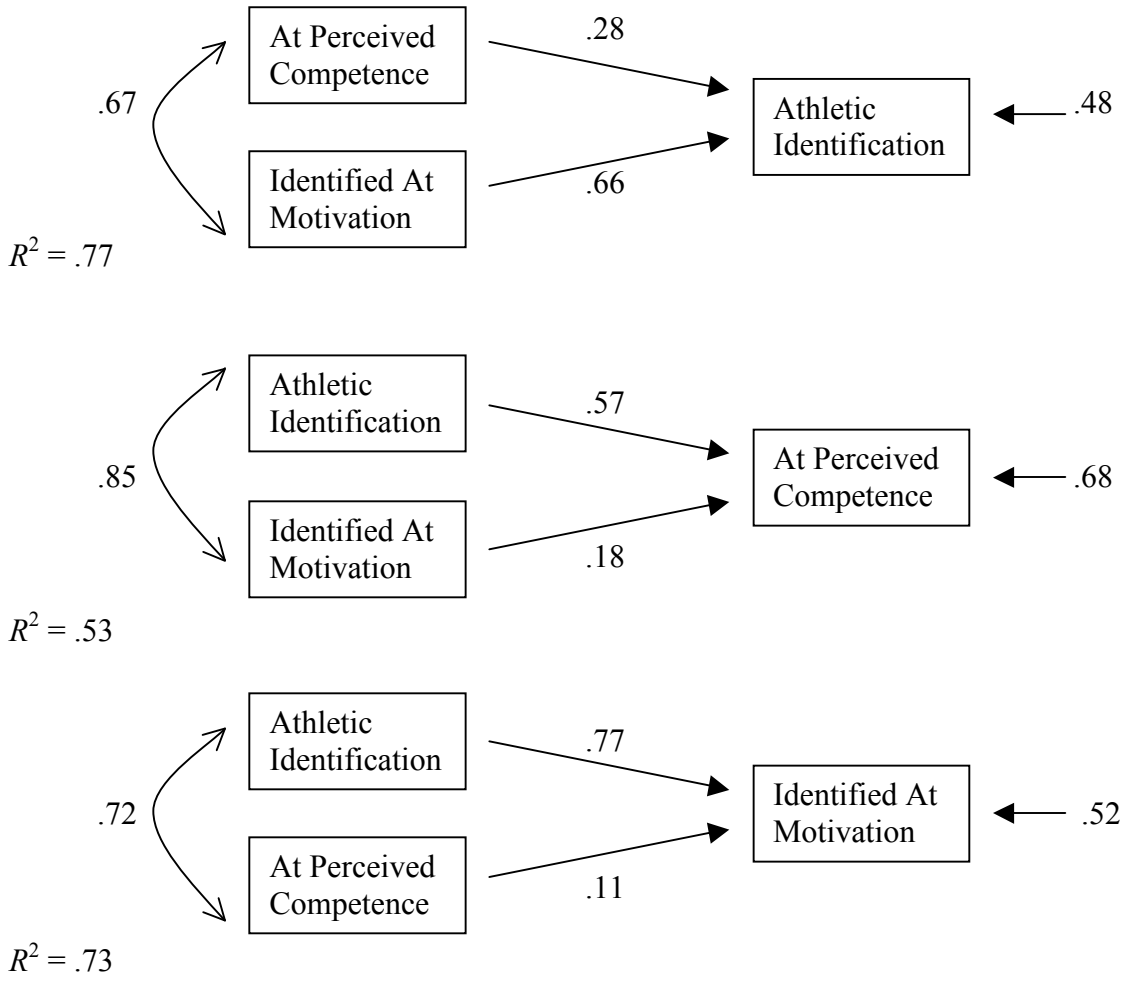

Figure 3. Structural Equation Modeling Testing for Fit among Athletic Perceived Competence, Athletic Identification, and Identified Athletic Motivation

Cluster Analyses

Several different cluster analyses were run to examine the effects of using the students' identification, perceived competence, and motivation scores to create groups (or clusters) of students within the data. After entering sets of these variables into and running the cluster analysis, I then had to name the resulting clusters to present them in this section and discuss their similarities and differences with one another. In naming the clusters, "low" was defined as a score of 1 to 3 on a 7-point scale or a score of 1 to 2 on a

4-point scale. “Medium” (Med) was defined as a score of 3 to 5 on a 7-point scale or a score of 2 to 3 on a 4-point scale. “High” was defined as a score of 5 to 7 on a 7-point scale or a score of 3 to 4 on a 4-point scale. Again, when significance tests were run, a significance level of .001 was used.

Identification clusters. An initial two-step cluster analysis using students’ academic and athletic identification as the clustering variables, resulted in three clusters of students (means and standard deviations on these two clustering variables are listed in Table 6).

Table 6. Clusters Using Academic and Athletic Identification Scores.

	Low academic/ Low athletic Group (*n* = 161)	**Med academic/ Low athletic Group (*n* = 105)**	**Med academic/ Med athletic Group (*n* = 149)**
AcID	2.93 (.63)	4.79 (.60)	4.47 (.73)
AthID	2.59 (1.19)	1.82 (.61)	4.91 (.92)

The highest score a student could receive on either of these measures was a 7; therefore, the mean for the largest cluster of students (i.e., low academic-low athletic) fell below a mid-point score of 4 on both identification measures. The next largest cluster demonstrated identification means above the mid-point on both measures, and interestingly, this group of students identified to a greater extent with athletics than academics. The smallest of the three clusters identified with academics more than any of the other three clusters, and their mean athletic identification score fell far below the mid-point of the scale.

The results of this cluster analysis then were used to create a grouping variable, and mean comparisons were examined for group differences among the three clusters on

the remaining variables (e.g., academic and athletic motivation). Table 3 contains each cluster's means and standard deviations on all other measures in the academic and athletic domains.

Table 7. Means and Standard Deviations of Three Identification Clusters.

	Low academic/ Low athletic Group	**Med academic/ Low athletic Group**	**Med academic/ Med athletic Group**
AcPC	2.80 (.66)	3.10 (.65)	2.98 (.67)
AcINTR	1.89 (.61)	2.43 (.61)	2.32 (.62)
AcIDMOT	2.80 (.59)	3.42 (.39)	3.26 (.49)
AcINTRO	2.40 (.63)	2.95 (.48)	2.98 (.52)
AcEXT	2.65(.61)	2.74 (.59)	2.91 (.55)
AthPC	2.60 (.63)	2.06 (.58)	3.14 (.57)
AthINTR*	4.10 (1.81)	3.54 (1.63)	5.88 (.96)
AthIDMOT*	3.40 (1.65)	2.80 (1.29)	5.67 (1.10)
AthINTRO*	2.32 (1.12)	2.08 (.92)	3.53 (1.16)
AthEXT*	2.39 (1.33)	1.86 (1.00)	3.95 (1.32)

*Athletic motivation scales are 7-point, and all the rest are 4-point.

An ANOVA was conducted to examine the mean differences among these three groups on the remaining academic and athletic measures. Significant differences were demonstrated on all of the measures at the .001 level except for academic perceived competence, on which group differences approached significance ($p < .002$). Post-hoc Bonferroni comparisons examining these differences were then conducted.

Although the difference on the academic perceived competence did not meet the .001 significance level, the low academic/athletic group did significantly differ from the medium academic/low athletic group on this measure at the .001 level. On the intrinsic, identified, and introjected academic motivation measures, the low academic/athletic group differed significantly ($p < .001$) from both of the other groups, while the medium

academic/low athletic group and medium academic/athletic group did not differ significantly from each other. Only the low academic/athletic and medium academic/athletic groups differed significantly ($p < .001$) on the external academic motivation measure.

In the athletic domain, all of the groups differed significantly ($p < .001$) on the perceived competence measure. On all four of the athletic motivation measures, the medium academic/athletic group differed significantly ($p < .001$) from both the low academic/athletic group and the medium academic/low athletic group.

Academic motivation clusters. A second cluster analysis using the four forms of academic motivation as clustering variables revealed two clusters (with their means and standard deviations on these four clustering variables).

Table 8. Clusters Using Academic Motivation Scores.

	Low/Medium Academic Motivation Group (*n* = 135)	**High/Medium Academic Motivation Group (*n* = 271)**
Intrinsic	1.61 (.46)	2.44 (.56)
Identified	2.54 (.50)	3.41 (.35)
Introjected	2.17 (.54)	3.03 (.43)
External	2.47 (.60)	2.92 (.54)

These measures all used a 4-point scale. Therefore, the high/med group, which was twice the size of the low/med group, demonstrated mean scores above the mid-point of 2.5 on all of the measures except intrinsic academic motivation. The low/medium group, on the other hand, had scores below the mid-point across the board except on identified academic motivation. For both groups, the identified academic motivation mean was highest in comparison to the means for the other forms of academic

motivation, and the intrinsic academic motivation mean was the least. The two groups differed, however, in that the low/medium group's mean on external academic motivation was that group's second highest motivation mean, while the introjected academic motivation mean was the next greatest for the high/medium group.

Again, the results of the cluster analysis were used to create a grouping variable in order to conduct mean comparisons of the two clusters on the other measures. These comparisons revealed significant differences between the two groups only on academic perceived competence and academic identification. The following table contains the groups' means and standard deviations.

Table 9. Means and Standard Deviations for the Two Academic Motivation Clusters.

	Low/Medium Academic Motivation Group	**High/Medium Academic Motivation Group**
AcPC*	2.75 (.66)	3.05 (.65)
AcID	3.11 (.87)	4.37 (.88)
AthPC*	2.67 (.68)	2.64 (.75)
AthID	3.16 (1.61)	3.24 (1.62)
AthINTR	4.44 (1.84)	4.64 (1.79)
AthIDMOT	3.84 (1.89)	4.15 (1.83)
AthINTRO	2.47 (1.18)	2.78 (1.27)
AthEXT	2.62 (1.44)	2.88 (1.55)

*Perceived competence scales are out of 4, and all the rest are out of 7.

These two groups differed to some extent in academic perceived competence, $F(1, 389) = 18.80$, $p < .001$, and to a somewhat greater extent in academic identification, $F(1, 398) = 183.23$, $p < .001$. Both clusters' means were above the mid-point on academic perceived competence, while only the high/medium academic motivation group was above the 4.0 mid-point on academic identification.

As to the athletic domain, these two groups did not differ much on perceived competence or identification. They did differ to some extent on the forms of athletic motivation with the high/medium group having somewhat higher means on all forms of athletic motivation (although the differences on these measures were not significant).

Athletic motivation clusters. Another cluster analysis, this one using the four forms of athletic motivation as clustering variables, like the academic motivation cluster analysis, revealed two clusters (with their means and standard deviations on these four clustering variables).

Table 10. Clusters Using Athletic Motivation Scores.

	Low/Medium Athletic Motivation Group (*n* = 216)	**High/Medium Athletic Motivation Group (*n* = 199)**
Intrinsic	3.35 (1.64)	5.71 (1.08)
Identified	2.54 (1.16)	5.44 (1.17)
Introjected	1.81 (.74)	3.50 (1.07)
External	1.63 (.77)	3.90 (1.20)

These measures all used 7-point scales, and the two clusters were fairly equivalent in size. The high/med group had mean scores above the mid-point (4) on intrinsic and identified athletic motivation and scores below this mid-point on the two more extrinsic forms of athletic motivation. The low/med group, on the other hand, had scores below the mid-point across the board. Intrinsic athletic motivation was the highest motivation for both groups.

Using the results of this cluster analysis to create a grouping variable with two levels, the means for the two clusters on the other measures were compared. Significant differences were revealed on athletic perceived competence, F (1, 398) = 147.48, $p <$

.001; athletic identification, F (1, 409) = 417.55, p < .001; introjected academic motivation, F (1, 401) = 11.94, p < .001; and external academic motivation, F (1, 407) = 14.58, p < .001. The following table contains the groups' means and standard deviations.

Table 11. Means and Standard Deviations of Two Athletic Motivation Clusters.

	Low/Medium Athletic Motivation Group	**High/Medium Athletic Motivation Group**
AthPC	2.26 (.61)	3.02 (.63)
AthID*	2.03 (.92)	4.33 (1.31)
AcPC	2.96 (.68)	2.93 (.66)
AcID*	3.84 (1.13)	4.07 (.97)
AcINTR	2.16 (.69)	2.19 (.64)
AcIDMOT	3.10 (.61)	3.15 (.54)
AcINTRO	2.64 (.64)	2.85 (.59)
AcEXT	2.65 (.62)	2.87 (.55)

*Identification scales are out of 7, and all the rest are out of 4.

The high/medium athletic motivation group demonstrated mean scores above the mid-point on every measure except intrinsic academic motivation, while the low/medium group's mean scores fell below the mid-point on all of the measures except the three extrinsic forms of academic motivation.

The more highly motivated group in the athletic domain had significantly higher scores on the two more extrinsic forms of academic motivation, while their intrinsic and identified academic motivation were similar to the less athletically motivated group's scores. Identified motivation was the highest form of academic motivation for both groups, and both groups also demonstrated approximately the same mean in academic perceived competence.

Perceived competence clusters. A final cluster analysis with perceived

competence in each domain as the clustering variables resulted in five clusters. The following is a table of the clusters with their means and standard deviations in academic and athletic perceived competence.

Table 12. Clusters Using Academic and Athletic Perceived Competence Scores.

	Med AcPC/ Med AthPC Group (*n* = 92)	**Med AcPC/ High AthPC Group (*n* = 94)**	**High AcPC/ Low AthPC Group (*n* = 71)**	**High AcPC/ Med AthPC Group (*n* = 99)**	**High AcPC/ High AthPC Group (*n* = 50)**
AcPC	2.06 (.40)	2.69 (.31)	3.25 (.43)	3.45 (.29)	3.57 (.36)
AthPC	2.29 (.41)	3.15 (.37)	1.68 (.32)	2.66 (.32)	3.77 (.24)

All of these means are from 4-point scales. The first of these groups was the third-largest group and had a below-mid-point mean on academic perceived competence and athletic perceived competence. The next group, which was the second-largest group, demonstrated above-mid-point perceived competence in both areas. The next-to-smallest group had an even higher perceived competence mean in academics but the smallest (and below-mid-point) mean in athletics. The last two groups, the one with the most students and the one with the fewest students, demonstrated the highest levels of academic perceived competence, but the former's athletic perceived competence mean was only slightly above the mid-point and was the third lowest compared to the other groups' perceived competence means. The latter's athletic perceived competence mean, on the other hand, was far above the mid-point and higher than any of the other groups' means.

Once again, a grouping variable was created using the results from this cluster analysis. Table 9 displays the five clusters' means and standard deviations on the other 10 measures.

Table 13. Means and Standard Deviations of Five Perceived Competence Clusters.

	Med AcPC/ Med AthPC Group	Med AcPC/ High AthPC Group	High AcPC/ Low AthPC Group	High AcPC/ Med AthPC Group	High AcPC/ High AthPC Group
AcID	3.71 (1.06)	3.73 (1.13)	4.21 (1.10)	4.02 (.96)	4.24 (.92)
AcINTR*	1.91 (.63)	2.03 (.67)	2.27 (.57)	2.32 (.67)	2.42 (.57)
AcIDMOT*	2.91 (.64)	3.00 (.61)	3.30 (.51)	3.20 (.51)	3.27 (.50)
AcINTRO*	2.67 (.62)	2.60 (.67)	2.84 (.57)	2.78 (.61)	2.94 (.57)
AcEXT*	2.76 (.63)	2.78 (.63)	2.72 (.56)	2.75 (.55)	2.87 (.63)
AthID	2.90 (1.34)	4.11 (1.43)	1.56 (.58)	3.03 (1.33)	4.93 (1.16)
AthINTR	4.10 (1.72)	5.32 (1.37)	2.75 (1.52)	4.84 (1.49)	6.19 (1.00)
AthIDMOT	3.62 (1.66)	4.90 (1.57)	2.29 (1.15)	4.02 (1.56)	5.99 (1.25)
AthINTRO	2.67 (1.36)	3.06 (1.23)	1.88 (.93)	2.67 (1.05)	3.26 (1.25)
AthEXT	2.81 (1.51)	3.32 (1.47)	1.70 (1.02)	2.67 (1.39)	3.66 (1.41)

*Academic motivation scales are 4-point, and all the rest are 7-point.

An ANOVA was conducted to examine the mean differences among these five groups on the rest of the academic and athletic measures. Significant differences were demonstrated on all of the measures at the .001 level except for external and introjected academic motivation and academic identification, on which group differences approached significance ($p < .002$). Post-hoc Bonferroni comparisons examining these differences were then conducted.

In the academic domain, significant differences at the .001 were found among different groups only on the intrinsic and identified academic motivation measures. The medium academic/athletic perceived competence group differed significantly ($p <.001$) from both the high academic/medium athletic perceived competence and high academic/athletic perceived competence groups on the intrinsic academic motivation measure. Only the medium academic/athletic and high academic/low athletic perceived

competence groups differed significantly (p <.001) on the identified academic motivation measure.

In the athletic domain, significant differences at the .001 level were demonstrated among different groups on all of the identification and motivation measures. The high academic/low athletic group differed significantly (p <.001) from every other group on all of the athletic measures. On the introjected and external athletic motivation measures, the only other significant difference revealed among the groups was between the high academic/medium athletic and high academic/athletic perceived competence groups on the external athletic motivation measure. All of the groups differed significantly (p <.001) on the identified athletic motivation measure except the medium academic/athletic and high academic/medium athletic perceived competence groups. These two groups, in addition to the medium academic/high athletic and high academic/athletic perceived competence groups, also were the only ones to not differ significantly on the academic identification measure. As to intrinsic athletic motivation, the medium academic/athletic perceived competence group differed significantly (p <.001) from both the medium academic/high athletic and high academic/athletic perceived competence groups, and the high academic/medium athletic and high academic/athletic perceived competence groups differed significantly (p <.001) from one another.

Discussion

Although initial hypotheses were the bases for most of the initial analyses, some additional findings that are of interest were uncovered and will also be discussed in this section. When a hypothesis is addressed by a finding, the hypothesis is restated and

followed by a discussion of the results that address it.

Motivation

Some of the analyses that were conducted revealed interesting findings and patterns within and among the motivation measures. I discuss these findings first in the academic domain, then in the athletic domain, and then finally across the domains.

Academics. The mean comparisons and repeated measures analyses revealed significant differences among all of the forms of academic motivation except the two more extrinsic forms, introjected and external motivation. This demonstrates that students do, in fact, have different types of reasons for performing in the academic domain. The strongest of these, identified academic motivation, was also discussed by Koestner and Losier (2002). In this chapter of their book, the authors discuss the importance of identified motivation in the academic domain. As they stated:

> …a potential difficulty arises when one considers that domains such as politics or academics encompass a wide range of activities that vary in terms of their intrinsic appeal. There are some aspects of these domains…that are likely to be perceived as quite uninteresting, yet that are essential to effective involvement in the domain. With such activities, it is likely that the extent to which individuals have consciously integrated the value of domain-relevant activities into their personal goals and values will be more important than their intrinsic interest in the domain. (p. 114)

My finding follows their theory and demonstrates that students are more motivated by valuing education, knowing that succeeding in school is important, and setting more "long-term goals" than other types of motivation (Koestner & Losier, 2002, p. 116). Another finding that is somewhat less positive, however, was also revealed in these analyses – students' intrinsic academic motivation was significantly lower than any other form of academic motivation. Again, Koestner and Losier (2002) addressed the

importance of promoting both intrinsic and identified academic motivation and discussed how it is the combination of these two forms of motivation that allows for an optimal academic experience:

> Indeed, we conceptualize intrinsic motivation and internalization as working in a complementary fashion to promote vitality, growth, and adaptation. Intrinsic motivation promotes a focus on short-term, process goals and yields energizing emotions such as interest and excitement, whereas identification keeps one oriented toward the long-term significance of one's current pursuits and fosters positive emotions such as pride in one's accomplishments in the domain. (p. 115)

Therefore, the lack of intrinsic motivation found in this sample would lead to a lack of short-term goals and positive emotions that could detract from the "vitality, growth, and adaptation" that Koestner and Losier discussed in their chapter.

Correlational analyses of the different types of academic motivation also demonstrated some interesting results that address the following hypotheses:

> *The different forms of motivation within each domain will be related to the two forms of motivation next to them on the internalization continuum (e.g., intrinsic and identified motivation) but will have no relationship or a negative relationship with those forms that are further down the continuum (e.g., intrinsic and external motivation).*

Interestingly, this hypothesis was not supported by my findings. In fact, all of the types of academic motivation related to one another except intrinsic and external academic motivation, which did relate positively but not significantly to one another (.15). I assumed that when students were motivated by intrinsic reasons (e.g., having fun while learning, wanting to gain knowledge), they would not be motivated by other reasons, especially those representing introjected or external motivation; however, my results show that the different forms of academic motivation are much more highly related than

might have been originally thought.

In addition to the repeated measures and correlational analyses, a cluster analysis was also conducted using the four types of academic motivation as the grouping variables and resulted in only two clusters, a higher group with motivation means above the scale's mid-point (except in intrinsic motivation) and a lower group with motivation means below the mid-point (except in identified motivation). Fortunately, the lower group was only half the size of the higher group, but this means that fully one-third of the sample demonstrated relatively low academic motivation, especially intrinsic motivation (M = 1.61 out of 4.0). Also, although both groups' identified academic motivation means were greater than the means for the other types of motivation, the lower group's external academic motivation was their next greatest form of academic motivation, while the higher group's introjected academic motivation was their next greatest form of academic motivation. A comparison of the lower group's different types of motivation shows that students who demonstrated less academic motivation across the board also internalized this motivation to a lesser degree; however, a comparison of the higher group's academic motivation with the lower group's academic motivation demonstrates that, in fact, the students who exhibited greater academic motivation across the board felt both more internally and more extrinsically motivated in academics.

Athletics. As in the academic domain, the mean comparisons and repeated measures analyses revealed significant differences among all of the forms of athletic motivation except the two more extrinsic forms, introjected and external motivation. Again, this demonstrates that students also have different types of reasons for performing

in the athletic domain. Unlike in the academic domain, however, students demonstrated significantly greater intrinsic motivation for performing in the athletic domain, and their identified motivation mean followed their intrinsic motivation mean as the next greatest form of athletic motivation. Koestner and Losier (2002) also discussed domains like athletics that "naturally elicit intrinsic motivation" (p. 116) and how important the development of identified motivation is in such domains. As these authors stated, "There is considerable evidence that long-term skill improvement will…require more than playful engagement in the domain," and they went on to discuss studies that have shown how important identified regulation is to continual practice, training, and improvement in such areas (p. 116). Therefore, as in academics, these authors viewed a combination of intrinsic and identified motivation as being essential to experiencing the athletic domain positively, and the results of my study demonstrate that, in contrast to academics, students have the right combination of intrinsic and identified athletic motivation that Koestner and Losier's (2002) chapter addressed.

Relationships among the different types of athletic motivation were also examined and demonstrated results that address the following hypotheses:

> *The different forms of motivation within each domain will be related to the two forms of motivation next to them on the internalization continuum (e.g., intrinsic and identified motivation) but will have no relationship or a negative relationship with those forms that are further down the continuum (e.g., intrinsic and external motivation).*

As in academics, this hypothesis was not supported by my findings, and all of the types of athletic motivation significantly related to one another. Again, my assumption was that

when students were motivated by intrinsic reasons (e.g., having fun while playing their sport), they would not be motivated by other reasons, especially those representing introjected or external motivation; however, my results showed that the different forms of athletic motivation were much more highly related than might have been originally thought.

In addition to these analyses, I conducted a cluster analysis using the four types of athletic motivation as the grouping variables, which resulted in only two clusters, a higher group with more internal motivation means above the scale's mid-point and more extrinsic means below the mid-point and a lower group with motivation means below the mid-point. Interestingly, the two clusters each contained approximately half of the students of the sample. The means for the two groups demonstrated that whether a student demonstrated greater athletic motivation or lower athletic motivation, their more internal types of motivation (i.e., intrinsic and identified) were greater than their more extrinsic types of motivation (i.e., introjected and external). In addition, all of the higher athletic motivation group's means were greater than all of the lower athletic motivation group's means. Therefore, as with the higher academic motivation group, the higher athletic motivation group exhibited both greater internal and extrinsic athletic motivation than the lower athletic motivation group.

Across domains. Another hypothesis that was addressed in this study was whether *the different forms of motivation within academics would be related to the different forms of motivation within athletics*. Correlation analyses across the two domains, however, did result in some significant findings among the types of academic and athletic motivation.

Interestingly, significant relationships were only demonstrated among introjected and external academic motivation and identified, introjected, and external athletic motivation. These findings in combination with the lack of significant relationships among the more internal forms of academic motivation and all of the types of athletic motivation showed that only the more extrinsic forms of academic motivation related to being athletically motivated. Therefore, being motivated in athletics related to being extrinsically motivated in academics; however, because no significant relationships were demonstrated between intrinsic athletic motivation and any form of academic motivation, this was not true for students who were only intrinsically motivated in athletics.

Identification

Within two of the hypotheses, one relationship addressed whether *academic and athletic identification would be negatively correlated*. Rather than demonstrating a negative relationship between these two constructs, however, my results exhibited a significant positive relationship between them. Although this relationship did not support the hypothesis, my results comparing this relationship for each grade level explain, to some extent, why a significant positive relationship was demonstrated between academic and athletic identification for the entire sample of students (see Chapter 5).

In addition to the correlational analyses, a cluster analysis was conducted using the two identification constructs as the clustering variables. Three clusters resulted from this analysis: (a) a lower identification group, (b) a higher identification group, and (c) a group that exhibited higher academic and lower athletic identification. Each of the first two groups was somewhat larger than the latter group. The lower identification group

demonstrated somewhat greater academic identification than athletic identification, while the higher identification group demonstrated somewhat greater athletic identification than academic identification. Thus, the identification measures differentiated the students into three groups rather than the two groups that resulted from the motivation measures. Students were either highly identified in both areas or less identified in both areas, and in addition, there was a group of students (about one-fourth of the sample) who only identified with academics.

Perceived Competence

As with identification, two of the hypotheses also addressed the relationship between perceived competence in academics and in athletics, that *academic and athletic perceived competence would be negatively correlated*. Again, rather than demonstrating a negative relationship between these two constructs, however, my results exhibited a significant positive relationship between them. As with the relationship between academic and athletic identification, my results comparing the academic and athletic perceived competence relationship for each grade level explain, to some extent, why a significant positive relationship was demonstrated between these two variables for the entire sample of students (see Chapter 5).

A fourth cluster analysis was conducted using the two perceived competence measures to cluster the students. Interestingly, the analysis using these measures differentiated the students into more groups than any of the other cluster analyses: (a) a lower perceived competence group, (b) a higher perceived competence group, (c) a higher academic/lower athletic perceived competence group, (d) a higher

academic/lowest athletic perceived competence group, and (e) a lower academic/higher athletic perceived competence group. Out of these five groups, the group with higher perceived competence in both areas was the smallest group with the higher academic/lowest athletic group being the next smallest. The other three groups were approximately the same size and made up about two-thirds of the sample. Unlike in the motivation and identification cluster analyses, the perceived competence analysis demonstrated that students were fairly differentiated in how they felt about their abilities in academics and athletics. This differentiation was somewhat more substantial for the athletic domain, in which the group means ranged from 1.68 to 3.77, than for the academic domain, in which the means ranged from 2.06 to 3.57.

Relating the Constructs

The remaining reported results mainly addressed the study's specific hypotheses; therefore, this section will be organized according to these hypotheses.

Academic identification will be positively related to intrinsic and identified academic motivation and academic perceived competence, while it will be negatively related to intrinsic athletic motivation and athletic perceived competence.

The first part of this hypothesis focuses on the positive relationships among the academic constructs, and the correlation results support this hypothesis. Academic identification did exhibit significant positive relationships with intrinsic and identified academic motivation and academic perceived competence. In fact, the relationship between academic identification and identified motivation was extremely strong, while that between academic identification and intrinsic motivation was somewhat weaker but also considerable. Interestingly, the correlation between academic identification and

perceived competence was not nearly as strong as either of the relationships between academic identification and motivation.

The second half of this hypothesis focuses on academic identification's relationships with two athletic domain measures, intrinsic motivation and perceived competence. Although not significant, a negative correlation was found between academic identification and athletic perceived competence, which does, to some extent, support this hypothesis. The relationship between academic identification and intrinsic athletic motivation, however, was represented by a non-significant positive correlation, which does not support this hypothesis.

Athletic identification will be positively related to intrinsic and identified athletic motivation and athletic perceived competence, while it will be negatively related to academic identification, intrinsic academic motivation, and academic perceived competence.

Somewhat similar to the last hypothesis discussed, the first part of this hypothesis focuses on athletic identification's relationships with intrinsic and identified athletic motivation and athletic perceived competence. As in the academic domain, all of these relationships were significant, but even at a stronger level. Again, athletic identification and identified motivation exhibited an extremely strong relationship (the strongest relationship demonstrated in the correlation analyses), while athletic identification and intrinsic motivation demonstrated a weaker but still strong relationship. Unlike in the academic domain, however, the correlation between athletic identification and perceived competence was also extremely strong and, in fact, was almost as strong as the relationship between athletic identification and intrinsic athletic motivation.

The second half of this hypothesis focuses on the relationships between athletic identification and two academic domain measures, intrinsic motivation and perceived competence. Rather than demonstrating a significant negative relationship with either of these academic variables as had been predicted, athletic identification exhibited a zero correlation with each of them.

Identification within each domain may be related to introjected and external motivation within the given domain, but this relationship will not be as strong as identification's relationships with the more internal forms of motivation.

In both the academic and athletic domains, identification did relate significantly to both introjected and external motivation, but these relationships in comparison to those with the more internal forms of motivation differed in the two domains. Academic identification's relationship with external academic motivation was quite a bit smaller than either of its relationships with intrinsic or with identified academic motivation; however, the relationship between academic identification and introjected academic motivation was somewhat greater than that between academic identification and intrinsic motivation. In contrast to the academic domain, the relationships within the athletic domain did support the hypothesis that identification's relationships with introjected and external motivation would be weaker than those with intrinsic and identified motivation, but the relationship between athletic identification and external athletic motivation was not nearly as weak as the relationship between academic identification and external academic motivation.

To some extent, these results reveal interesting patterns among identification and the more extrinsic forms of motivation within and across the two domains. Within the

academic domain, identified and introjected motivation demonstrated close to the same relationship with identification, and identification did not relate nearly as highly to external academic motivation, two findings that basically follow Ryan and Deci's (2002) internalization process theory. The athletic domain also followed the hypothesized pattern, to some extent. However, introjected motivation, rather than external motivation, demonstrated the weakest relationship with identification, possibly because of the introjected athletic motivation measure's lower reliability. Focusing on the relationship between athletic identification and external athletic motivation, however, it is interesting that this relationship was almost as strong as the relationship between athletic identification and intrinsic athletic motivation.

Perceived competence within each domain will also be related to the different forms of motivation within the given domain and will follow the same pattern as identification's relationship with motivation (i.e., relating more strongly to the more internal forms of motivation than to the more extrinsic forms).

In both domains, this hypothesis was supported in that perceived competence did relate more strongly with the more internal forms of motivation. Interestingly, although most of these relationships were significant, they were not as strong as the relationships among identification and the forms of motivation within each domain. For example, in the academic domain, perceived competence exhibited significant relationships with intrinsic and identified academic motivation but not with introjected or external academic motivation. Also in contrast to academic identification, academic perceived competence related most strongly with intrinsic academic motivation rather than with identified academic motivation. Unlike in the academic domain, the relationships among athletic perceived competence and the forms of athletic motivation followed the exact same

pattern as the relationships among athletic identification and the forms of athletic motivation. Like in the academic domain, however, the athletic perceived competence relationships were somewhat weaker than the athletic identification relationships.

These patterns indicate that athletic perceived competence is somewhat more related to athletic motivation than academic perceived competence is to academic motivation, but academic perceived competence relates only to the more internal forms of academic motivation, while athletic perceived competence relates to all four forms of athletic motivation. These findings show some interesting differences between the two domains and how students view themselves and their abilities in relation to their motivation in each domain.

Also, in both domains, perceived competence relates less to motivation than does identification. In their theory, Ryan and Deci (2002) discuss the "need for competence" as being important to students' motivation, but it is their internalization process on which they focus, making it central to defining how students are motivated within a given domain. My results support this theory in that it is students' identification that exhibits the strongest relationship to, and is therefore more central to, students' motivation. In addition, my results show that feeling competent, as Ryan and Deci (2002) also discuss, relates to students' motivation, specifically their more internal forms of motivation. Also, it is interesting that in the academic domain, identification relates significantly to both more internal and more extrinsic forms of motivation, while perceived competence relates significantly only to intrinsic and identified motivation. To find pleasure in academic tasks and enjoy them for their own sake seems associated with feeling both

competent in and identified with the academic domain; however, feeling competent is not necessary to being more extrinsically regulated in academics, while being identified with the academic domain is important to this more extrinsic academic regulation.

All four forms of academic motivation will significantly predict academic identification, while all four forms of athletic motivation will significantly predict athletic identification. The equation for the athletic domain will demonstrate more significant results than the equation for the academic domain.

In the academic domain, when all four forms of motivation were entered into a regression equation, identification was significantly predicted with almost half of its variance being explained by these four variables, but only identified and introjected academic motivation acted as significant predictors within this equation. Similarly, in the athletic domain, all four forms of athletic motivation significantly predicted athletic identification and represented fully three-fourths of the variance within the athletic identification construct. Unlike in the equation for the academic domain, identified and *external* athletic motivation acted as significant predictors of athletic identification.

These findings support the hypothesis proposed in that each equation significantly predicted identification within each domain, and the athletic domain equation did demonstrate more significant results than did the academic domain equation. These findings show a stronger connection between athletic identification and motivation than between academic identification and motivation; however, both connections are extremely strong. Interestingly, in the academic domain introjected motivation acted as a significant predictor of identification, but in the athletic domain, external motivation acted as a significant predictor of identification. Again, this may relate to the introjected athletic motivation measure's low reliability, but it also may demonstrate a stronger

connection that exists between external reasons for playing sports and students' athletic identities than exists between similar reasons for participating in academics and students' academic identities.

Identified academic motivation and academic perceived competence will significantly predict academic identification almost to the same extent as the four forms of academic motivation. The same predictors in the athletic domain will also demonstrate similar results for athletic identification but to an even greater extent.

The second set of regression analyses resulted in similar findings. When only identified academic motivation and academic perceived competence were entered as predictors of academic identification, the analysis resulted in 40% of the variance in academic identification being explained by these two variables, which was a small drop from the previous analysis with all four forms of motivation entered into the equation. Only identified academic motivation acted as a significant predictor of academic identification. A similar regression equation for the athletic domain resulted in 75% of the variance in athletic identification being explained by both identified athletic motivation and athletic perceived competence, a finding that mirrors that of the previous equation predicting athletic identification with all four forms of athletic motivation entered as predictors. In contrast to the findings for the academic domain, *both* identified athletic motivation and athletic perceived competence acted as significant predictors.

These findings indicate that identified motivation in combination with perceived competence did almost as good a job predicting identification as did all four forms of motivation in the academic domain and did as good a job predicting it in the athletic domain. Interestingly, however, perceived competence did not act as a significant predictor in the academic domain, while it did in the athletic domain. This finding

compares to the relationships discussed earlier between perceived competence and motivation in that, as with the perceived-competence-motivation relationships, perceived competence seems to be more relevant to identification in the athletic domain than in the academic domain.

Variables in one domain will not significantly predict identification in the other domain (e.g., the forms of academic motivation will not predict athletic identification).

Although the regression analysis examining the four forms of athletic motivation as predictors of academic identification resulted in a significant finding, none of the forms of athletic motivation acted as significant predictors of academic identification, supporting this hypothesis. In the second analysis including identified athletic motivation and athletic identification and perceived competence, a low but significant R^2 was also revealed; however, athletic perceived competence was revealed as having a significant negative partial correlation with academic identification. As in the academic domain analyses, the regression equations predicting athletic identification with academic domain variables revealed low but significant R^2. In the first of these with the four forms of academic motivation entered as predictors, external academic motivation approached significance as a predictor of athletic identification, while in the second analysis, academic identification significantly predicted athletic identification.

For the most part, these findings support the proposed hypothesis; however, a few significant predictors were revealed in these analyses. One interesting finding was the negative relationship between academic identification and athletic perceived competence, suggesting that the more students view themselves as being athletically capable, the less they identify with academics. Related to this result was the finding that external academic

motivation, to some extent, predicted athletic identification, a finding suggesting that being more extrinsically motivated in academics predicts being more athletically identified. The last finding, which somewhat contradicts these two findings by demonstrating that academic identification predicted athletic identification, is somewhat more difficult to explain but may be related to the significant relationships that exist between: (a) academic identification and the two more external forms of academic motivation, (b) these external forms of academic motivation and the more external forms of athletic motivation, and (c) these external forms of athletic motivation and athletic identification.

Additional Analyses

Predicting intrinsic academic motivation. The regression analysis examining academic identification and perceived competence as predictors of intrinsic academic motivation resulted in the equation with these variables explaining approximately one-fourth of the variance in intrinsic academic motivation. In addition, both variables significantly predicted intrinsic academic motivation. These results relate to the earlier discussion of identification and perceived competence as both being important to being intrinsically motivated in academics.

Perceived competence as mediator. Two sets of multiple regression analyses examined the mediational effects of perceived competence on the relationships between identification and identified motivation and between identification and intrinsic motivation. In the academic domain, these analyses did not reveal perceived competence as a mediator of either of these relationships. In the athletic domain, however, perceived

competence acted as a partial mediator in both identification's relationship with identified motivation and its relationship with intrinsic motivation. Interestingly, each of these two forms of motivation also demonstrated a mediational effect on the relationship between identification and perceived competence.

To examine further the relationships among identification, identified motivation, and perceived competence in each domain, structural equation modeling was also utilized and revealed that in both domains, entering identified motivation and perceived competence to predict identification and entering identification and perceived competence to predict identified motivation resulted in similar findings. Also, the results for the academic domain were somewhat more significant than those for the athletic domain.

Taken together, these results demonstrate the strong relationships among these variables in both domains while also revealing somewhat stronger relationships among them in the athletic domain than in the academic domain. They also show that perceived competence plays a more significant role in the relationships between athletic identification and each of the more internal forms of athletic motivation than in the relationships between academic identification and the more internal forms of academic motivation. Again, students' perspectives of their abilities in athletics affect their motivation and identification within this domain more than students' perspectives of their abilities in academics do in the academic domain.

Cluster analyses. For each of the four cluster analyses conducted, mean comparisons among the clusters were calculated on the remaining measures.

The initial cluster analysis using academic and athletic identification as the clustering variables revealed three groups. The group with lower academic/athletic identification demonstrated significantly lower academic perceived competence than the group with higher academic identification/lower athletic identification, but they did not differ from the higher academic/athletic identification group on this measure. This group also demonstrated significantly lower means than both of the other groups on the three non-external forms of academic motivation while revealing a much lower mean than the higher academic/athletic identification group in external academic motivation. In the athletic domain, all three groups differed in perceived competence, and the higher academic/athletic identification group demonstrated significantly higher means than the other two groups on all four of the athletic motivation measures.

In the next cluster analysis, the measures of academic motivation were used to cluster students, which resulted in two groups, one with higher motivation scores and one with lower motivation scores. The groups differed on both academic perceived competence and identification with the higher motivation group demonstrating higher means on both measures, but they did not differ significantly within the athletic domain.

A third cluster analysis using the athletic motivation measures as cluster variables also resulted in two clusters, one with higher motivation scores and one with lower motivation scores. As with the previous academic motivation clusters, the two groups differed on both perceived competence and identification within the domain of athletics, with the higher motivation group revealing significantly greater athletic perceived competence and identification. In contrast to the academic motivation groups, however,

these two groups also differed on introjected and external academic motivation with the higher athletic motivation group demonstrating significantly greater extrinsic forms of academic motivation than the lower motivation group.

A final cluster analysis with academic and athletic perceived competence (PC) entered as the cluster variables was conducted and resulted in five groups: a higher academic/athletic PC group, a lower academic/athletic PC group, a higher academic/lower athletic PC group, a higher academic/lowest athletic PC group, and a lower academic/higher athletic PC group. In the academic domain, only the lower academic/athletic PC group demonstrated significantly lower intrinsic motivation than either the higher academic/athletic PC group or the higher academic/lower athletic PC groups and significantly lower identified motivation than the higher academic/lowest athletic PC group. In the athletic domain, the higher academic/lowest athletic PC group exhibited significantly lower scores on all of the measures than all of the other groups. In addition to this group reporting significantly lower scores on all of the athletic measures, several other differences were found among the groups in the athletic domain. For example, within the more extrinsic forms of athletic motivation, the higher academic/lower athletic PC group demonstrated significantly lower external motivation than the higher academic/athletic PC group, and all of the groups differed from each other in identified athletic motivation except the lower academic/athletic PC and the higher academic/lower athletic PC groups. In intrinsic athletic motivation, the lower academic/athletic PC group demonstrated a significantly lower mean than the lower academic/higher athletic PC and higher academic/athletic PC groups, while the higher

academic/lower athletic PC group also revealed a significantly lower mean than the higher academic/athletic PC group. On the athletic identification measure, only two pairs of groups did not differ: the lower academic/athletic and higher academic/lower athletic PC groups and the lower academic/higher athletic and higher academic/athletic groups.

These mean comparisons using the groups that were created within the cluster analyses demonstrated some interesting findings in the academic domain. For example, mean comparisons of the clusters resulting from the two identification measures showed that the combination of both low academic and athletic identification resulted in lower academic perceived competence, but only when compared to a group with the combination of higher academic *and* lower athletic identification. Lower academic identification did not make a difference in perceived competence when this group was compared with a group that had both higher academic *and* higher athletic identification. Also, lower identification in both domains resulted in lower scores in introjected, identified, and intrinsic academic motivation when compared with identification that followed the pattern of higher in academics and lower in athletics identification; however, such low identification in both domains resulted in lower scores in all of these forms of academic motivation *and* external motivation when compared to the pattern of high academic *and* high athletic identification. Conducting mean comparisons with the two clusters that resulted from the academic motivation measures demonstrated that greater academic motivation across the board relates to greater academic perceived competence and identification. Interestingly, the mean comparisons calculated for the athletic motivation clusters showed that greater athletic motivation across the board

relates to greater introjected and external academic motivation. Only one interesting finding was demonstrated by the mean comparisons using the perceived competence clusters: lower academic and athletic perceived competence resulted in lower identified and intrinsic academic motivation when compared with the combination of greater academic/lower athletic perceived competence or greater academic/greater athletic perceived competence.

More differences were found among the four sets of cluster groups in the athletic domain. Examining the three identification clusters, all of them differed in athletic perceived competence, but it was the *higher* academic/lower athletic identification group that demonstrated the lowest athletic perceived competence (*not* the lower academic/lower athletic identification group). In addition, this examination showed that greater academic and athletic identification resulted in greater athletic motivation (both extrinsic and intrinsic) when compared to both the combination of lower academic/lower athletic identification and the combination of greater academic/lower athletic identification. The comparisons of the two academic motivation clusters showed that having different levels of academic motivation did not affect scores in the athletic area. On the other hand, comparing the two athletic motivation clusters revealed that greater athletic motivation related to greater athletic perceived competence and identification.

In addition to these mean comparisons using the groups from the first three cluster analyses, the comparisons of the five perceived competence clusters revealed several interesting findings. The combination of greater academic and very low athletic perceived competence resulted in lower scores across the board in the athletic domain when

compared to any of the other combinations of academic and athletic perceived competence. Also, greater academic and greater athletic perceived competence resulted in greater external athletic motivation than did greater academic and lower athletic perceived competence. The differences in academic and athletic perceived competence among the groups also related to many differences in identified athletic motivation and athletic identification and a few differences in intrinsic athletic motivation among the groups.

Chapter 5

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: GRADE LEVEL COMPARISONS

After conducting the initial analyses with the entire group, I decided to perform some similar analyses examining group differences among the three grade levels. The reasoning behind this decision derived from some interesting findings in the initial results that warranted further exploration (e.g., the strong relationships among identification and the different forms of motivation in both domains) and from the developmental perspective that other researchers and theories (e.g., Erikson, Harter) have taken toward the identification process.

Results

Means and Repeated Measures

Means. Differences among the three different grade levels were examined using mean comparisons of each grade on the 12 measures. Table 14 provides those means and standard deviations.

Academics. In the academic domain, mean comparisons indicated significant differences among the grades only on the external academic motivation measure, $F(2, 414) = 29.14$, $p < .001$. Other comparisons approached significance at the .001 level but did not reach it (i.e., academic perceived competence, $p = .004$; introjected academic motivation, $p = .004$). Post-hoc Bonferroni comparisons were then conducted to examine differences among the grade levels on these measures. These comparisons revealed only one significant difference at the .001 level: on the external academic motivation scale, the seventh grade differed significantly from both the ninth grade and the twelfth grade.

Table 14. Means and Standard Deviations for Each Grade on All Measures.

	Seventh Graders (*n* = 103)	**Ninth Graders (*n* = 158)**	**Twelfth Graders (*n* = 164)**
AcPC	2.78 (.70)	2.92 (.70)	3.06 (.58)
AcID*	4.12 (1.09)	3.82 (1.06)	3.99 (1.02)
AcINTR	2.23 (.69)	2.05 (.68)	2.24 (.61)
AcIDMOT	3.19 (.58)	3.05 (.64)	3.13 (.50)
AcINTRO	2.93 (.61)	2.70 (.67)	2.68 (.55)
AcEXT	3.11 (.52)	2.77 (.62)	2.56 (.51)
AthPC	2.80 (.69)	2.72 (.72)	2.49 (.73)
AthID*	3.91 (1.48)	3.43 (1.65)	2.62 (1.45)
AthINTR*	4.97 (1.60)	4.68 (1.87)	4.24 (1.81)
AthIDMOT*	4.68 (1.66)	4.22 (1.91)	3.51 (1.75)
AthINTRO*	3.12 (1.33)	2.80 (1.28)	2.32 (1.07)
AthEXT*	3.51 (1.55)	2.95 (1.52)	2.25 (1.30)

*Identification and athletic motivation scales are 7-point, and all the rest are 4-point.

Despite the lack of significant differences among the grade levels on most of the academic measures, some interesting trends within the data do exist. For example, seventh graders demonstrated the highest scores across the board on all of the academic measures except for perceived competence, in which they were the lowest. Interestingly, twelfth graders, not ninth graders, demonstrated the next highest scores across the board on the academic measures, except in perceived competence, in which they were the highest, and the more extrinsic motivations, in which they were the lowest. Ninth graders had the lowest means on all of the academic measures except in perceived competence and the more extrinsic motivations, the three measures on which they scored the second highest means. Thus, as students' academic perceived competence increases as they age, their extrinsic motivation decreases. On the other hand, their identification and more internal forms of motivation followed the same patterns, higher in seventh grade,

dropping in ninth grade, and then springing back in twelfth grade.

Athletics. Four of the mean comparisons in the athletic domain showed significant differences at the .001 level: identification, external motivation, introjected motivation, and identified motivation. The other two comparisons approached significance at this level but did not achieve it – perceived competence ($p = .002$) and intrinsic motivation ($p = .004$). Post-hoc Bonferroni comparisons were then conducted to examine differences among the grade levels.

The post-hoc comparisons revealed several differences among the grade levels. On the athletic identification and external athletic motivation measures, twelfth graders differed significantly ($p = .001$) from both seventh graders and ninth graders; however, on the introjected and identified athletic motivation measures, twelfth graders only differed significantly ($p = .001$) from seventh graders.

As in the academic domain, some interesting trends were revealed in the data. For example, seventh graders demonstrated the highest scores on all of the athletic measures, including athletic perceived competence. Ninth graders had the next lowest means on the athletic measures, and twelfth graders demonstrated the lowest scores in this domain. Therefore, as the grade level increased, scores on all measures of athletic motivation, identification, and perceived competence decreased.

Examining these two sets of results together, for academics and athletics, ninth graders demonstrated the lowest scores for the most part in academics and demonstrated the second lowest scores in athletics behind seventh graders.

Repeated measures. The four forms of academic motivation were entered into a

repeated measures within-subjects analysis. The interaction of these forms of academic motivation and the three grade levels was significant at the .001 level. Post-hoc Bonferroni comparisons were then conducted to examine between-subjects differences. For both seventh and ninth graders, their external academic motivation was greater than their introjected academic motivation, but twelfth graders demonstrated lower external motivation than introjected motivation in this domain. In addition, all three groups' identified motivation scores were higher than any of their other scores in academic motivation, but ninth graders' scores in identified motivation were lower than both seventh and twelfth graders' scores. Ninth graders also demonstrated lower intrinsic academic motivation than both seventh and twelfth graders. See Figure 4 for a line graph illustrating these findings. In athletics, the grade-by-motivation interaction was not significant at the .001 level ($p = .103$).

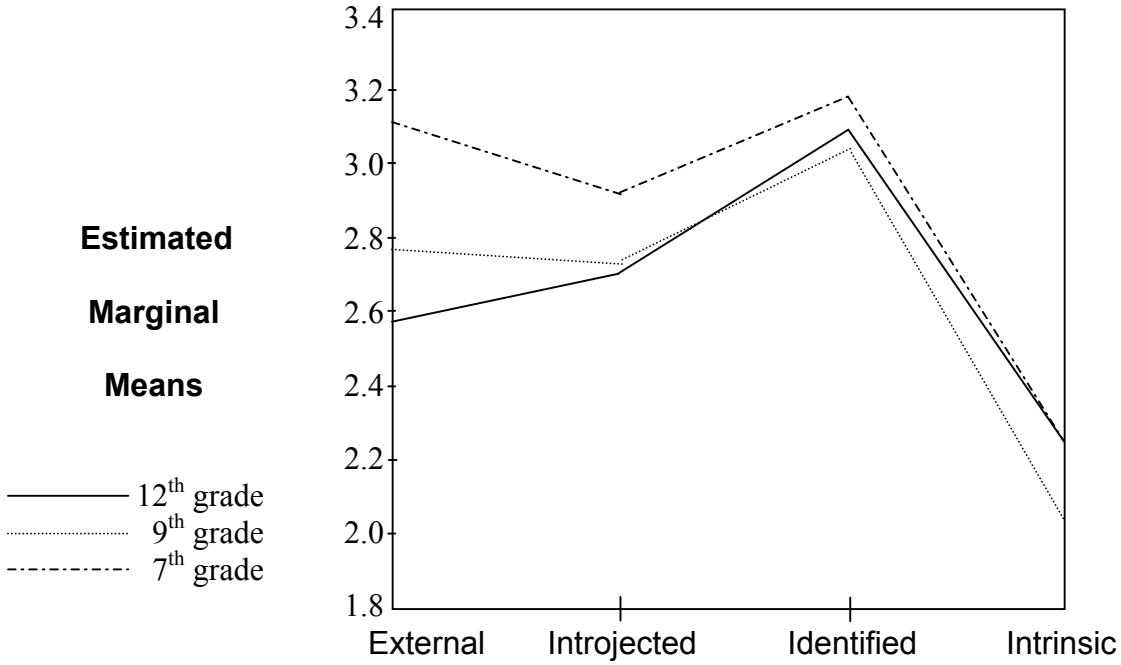

Figure 4. Repeated Measures Analysis Comparing Grade Levels Across the Forms of Academic Motivation.

Correlations (see Tables 15, 16, and 17 for each grade level's correlation matrix)

Relating perceived competence and identification. Academic identification and perceived competence were not significantly related for seventh graders (r = .14), while athletic identification and perceived competence were significantly related (r = .68). In addition, academic and athletic perceived competence were significantly related (r = .35) as were academic and athletic identification (r = .33), but neither academic identification and athletic perceived competence (r = .11) nor athletic identification and academic perceived competence (r = .12) were significantly related.

As with the seventh graders, for both ninth and twelfth graders, academic identification and perceived competence were not significantly related (r = .22, .24, respectively), while athletic identification and perceived competence were (r = .77 and .69, respectively). Unlike with the seventh graders, ninth and twelfth graders demonstrated no significant relationships among identification and perceived competence across the two domains. The relationships among these four variables also decreased as the students ages increased:

	Ninth Graders			**Twelfth Graders**	
	AcPC	**AcID**		**AcPC**	**AcID**
AthPC	.23	-.11	**AthPC**	.05	-.11
AthID	.17	.18	**AthID**	-.16	.06

Relating perceived competence and identification to motivation. For seventh graders, academic perceived competence was not related significantly to any of the forms of academic motivation, while academic identification was related significantly to all forms of academic motivation except external motivation (r = .45, .62, .62, .31, from

Table 15. Correlation Matrix of All Variables for Seventh Graders.

	AcPC	AcID	AcINTR	AcIDMOT	AcINTRO	AcEXT
AcPC	1.00					
AcID	.14	1.00				
AcINTR	.08	.45*	1.00			
AcIDMOT	.05	.62*	.58*	1.00		
AcINTRO	.07	.62*	.42*	.62*	1.00	
AcEXT	.07	.31	.12	.35*	.47*	1.00

	AthPC	AthID	AthINTR	AthIDMOT	AthINTRO	AthEXT
AthPC	1.00					
AthID	.68*	1.00				
AthINTR	.54*	.75*	1.00			
AthIDMOT	.64*	.82*	.85*	1.00		
AthINTRO	.33*	.52*	.41*	.53*	1.00	
AthEXT	.34*	.54*	.54*	.59*	.73*	1.00

	AcPC	AcID	AcINTR	AcIDMOT	AcINTRO	AcEXT
AthPC	.35*	.11	.11	.12	.05	.10
AthID	.12	.33*	.15	.19	.16	.09
AthINTR	.10	.34*	.15	.31	.25	.17
AthIDMOT	.14	.30	.13	.33*	.27	.17
AthINTRO	-.01	.22	.22	.24	.41*	.13
AthEXT	-.04	.18	.15	.16	.39*	.19

*$p < .001$

Table 16. Correlation Matrix of All Variables for Ninth Graders.

	AcPC	AcID	AcINTR	AcIDMOT	AcINTRO	AcEXT
AcPC	1.00					
AcID	.22	1.00				
AcINTR	.34*	.50*	1.00			
AcIDMOT	.27*	.68*	.60*	1.00		
AcINTRO	.16	.58*	.44*	.72*	1.00	
AcEXT	.13	.23	.23	.31*	.51*	1.00

	AthPC	AthID	AthINTR	AthIDMOT	AthINTRO	AthEXT
AthPC	1.00					
AthID	.77*	1.00				
AthINTR	.69*	.77*	1.00			
AthIDMOT	.73*	.88*	.87*	1.00		
AthINTRO	.39*	.58*	.48*	.60*	1.00	
AthEXT	.55*	.69*	.64*	.69*	.68*	1.00

	AcPC	AcID	AcINTR	AcIDMOT	AcINTRO	AcEXT
AthPC	.23	-.11	.08	-.12	-.09	.09
AthID	.17	.18	.10	.04	.10	.17
AthINTR	.27*	.11	.14	.14	.09	.13
AthIDMOT	.22	.14	.11	.14	.11	.13
AthINTRO	.05	.21	.03	.16	.26*	.21
AthEXT	.13	.15	.10	.13	.19	.25

*$p < .001$

Table 17. Correlation Matrix of All Variables for Twelfth Graders.

	AcPC	AcID	AcINTR	AcIDMOT	AcINTRO	AcEXT
AcPC	1.00					
AcID	.24	1.00				
AcINTR	.45*	.42*	1.00			
AcIDMOT	.45*	.57*	.58*	1.00		
AcINTRO	.23	.55*	.44*	.50*	1.00	
AcEXT	.13	.25*	.12	.17	.47*	1.00

	AthPC	AthID	AthINTR	AthIDMOT	AthINTRO	AthEXT
AthPC	1.00					
AthID	.69*	1.00				
AthINTR	.58*	.65*	1.00			
AthIDMOT	.58*	.80*	.75*	1.00		
AthINTRO	.36*	.56*	.48*	.67*	1.00	
AthEXT	.38*	.65*	.43*	.62*	.70*	1.00

	AcPC	AcID	AcINTR	AcIDMOT	AcINTRO	AcEXT
AthPC	.05	-.11	-.09	-.07	-.01	-.14
AthID	-.16	.06	-.09	-.15	.13	-.02
AthINTR	-.02	.00	-.01	-.13	-.00	-.05
AthIDMOT	-.05	.16	.03	.00	.19	.04
AthINTRO	-.04	.17	.11	-.05	.23	.11
AthEXT	-.24	.08	-.06	-.18	.22	.13

*$p < .001$

more internal to more extrinsic). In contrast to the seventh graders, ninth graders' academic perceived competence was related significantly to intrinsic and identified academic motivation (r = .34 and .27, respectively). As with the seventh graders, however, ninth graders' academic identification was related significantly to all forms of academic motivation except external motivation (r = .50, .68, .58, .23, from more internal to more extrinsic). As with the ninth graders, twelfth graders' academic perceived competence was related significantly to intrinsic and identified academic motivation but to an even greater extent (r = .45 and .45, respectively). Unlike for both seventh and ninth graders, twelfth graders demonstrated significant relationships among academic and all forms of academic motivation (r = .42, .57, .55, .25, from more internal to more extrinsic).

For all three groups, the relationships between academic identification and the forms of academic motivation were higher than those between academic perceived competence and the forms of academic motivation. Also for all three groups, when examining only the relationships among identification and motivation and the relationships among perceived competence and motivation in the academic domain, academic perceived competence demonstrated the strongest relationship with intrinsic academic motivation, while identification demonstrated the strongest relationship with identified academic motivation.

For all three grade levels, both athletic perceived competence and identification were significantly related to all four forms of athletic motivation. In addition, focusing solely on the relationships among each of these variables and the forms of athletic

motivation, both athletic identification and perceived competence were related most strongly to identified athletic motivation across all three groups. The relationships between athletic perceived competence and the forms of athletic motivation were less strong than those between athletic identification and the forms of athletic motivation.

Examining the relationships across domains, seventh graders' academic perceived competence was not related significantly to any form of athletic motivation, but academic identification was related significantly to intrinsic athletic motivation (r = .34). For ninth graders, on the other hand, academic identification was not related significantly to any form of athletic motivation, but academic perceived competence was significantly related to intrinsic athletic motivation (r = .27). In contrast to both of these younger groups, twelfth graders did not demonstrate any significant relationships among academic perceived competence and athletic motivation or academic identification and athletic motivation.

None of the groups demonstrated significant relationships among athletic perceived competence and academic motivation or athletic identification and academic motivation.

Relating the forms of motivation. For both seventh and ninth graders, all of the forms of academic motivation were related significantly to one another (range = .31 to .72) except intrinsic and external motivation, and identified and introjected academic motivation demonstrated the strongest relationship (r = .62 and .72, respectively) among these forms of motivation. Twelfth graders differed from both of the younger groups of students in that all of their forms of academic motivation were related significantly to one

another (range = .44 to .58) except intrinsic and external motivation *and* identified and external motivation. Also, for these older students, among the four forms of academic motivation, identified and intrinsic motivation related most strongly (r = .58).

In the athletic domain, for all three groups, all of the forms of athletic motivation were related significantly to one another, and among the four forms of athletic motivation, identified and intrinsic motivation were most strongly related.

Across the two domains, seventh graders demonstrated significant relationships between: identified academic and athletic motivation (r = .33), introjected academic and athletic motivation (r = .41), and introjected academic and external athletic motivation (r = .39). Ninth graders, on the other hand, demonstrated a significant relationship only between introjected academic and athletic motivation (r = .26), while twelfth graders demonstrated no significant relationships among the different forms of motivation across the two domains.

Multiple Regressions

Predicting academic identification. Several multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine possible predictors of academic identification for each of the three grade levels. The first set of these analyses examined the four forms of academic motivation as predictors of academic identification. The following results were demonstrated for each grade level:

7th grade: r^2 = .51; introjected and identified academic motivation approached significance (p = .002) as predictors

9th grade: r^2 = .49; identified academic motivation was a significant predictor; introjected academic motivation approached significance (p = .008) as a predictor

12th grade: r^2 = .42; identified and introjected academic motivation were both

significant predictors

The next set of analyses examined identified academic motivation and academic perceived competence as predictors of academic identification. The following results were demonstrated for each grade level:

7th grade: r^2 = .40; identified academic motivation was a significant predictor
9th grade: r^2 = .47; identified academic motivation was a significant predictor
12th grade: r^2 = .33; identified academic motivation was a significant predictor

The next two sets of analyses examined variables within the athletic domain as predictors of academic identification. One set of analyses examined the four forms of athletic motivation as predictors of academic identification. The following results were demonstrated for each grade level:

7th grade: r^2 = .12; no significant predictors
9th grade: r^2 = .05; no significant predictors
12th grade: r^2 = .07; no significant predictors

One final set of multiple regression analyses examined identified athletic motivation, athletic identification, and athletic perceived competence as predictors of academic identification. The following results were demonstrated for each grade level:

7th grade: r^2 = .14; no significant predictors
9th grade: r^2 = .16; athletic perceived competence (*pr* = -.37) was a significant predictor; athletic identification approached significance (p = .003, *pr* = .24) as a predictor
12th grade: r^2 = .07; identified athletic motivation approached significance (p = .008; *pr* = .22) as predictor

Predicting athletic identification. Another group of multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine possible predictors of athletic identification. The first set of these analyses examined the four forms of athletic motivation as predictors of athletic

identification. The following results were demonstrated for each grade level:

7th grade: r^2 = .69; identified athletic motivation was a significant predictor
9th grade: r^2 = .80; identified athletic motivation was a significant predictor and external athletic motivation approached significance (p = .008) as a predictor
12th grade: r^2 = .68; identified and external athletic motivation were significant predictors

The next set of analyses examined identified athletic motivation and athletic perceived competence as predictors of athletic identification. The following results were demonstrated for each grade level:

7th grade: r^2 = .71; identified athletic motivation and athletic perceived competence were significant predictors
9th grade: r^2 = .81; identified athletic motivation and athletic perceived competence were significant predictors
12th grade: r^2 = .70; identified athletic motivation and athletic perceived competence were significant predictors

The next two sets of analyses examined variables within the academic domain as predictors of athletic identification. The first set of multiple regressions examined the four forms of academic motivation as predictors of athletic identification. The following results were demonstrated for each grade level:

7th grade: r^2 = .05; no significant predictors
9th grade: r^2 = .05; no significant predictors
12th grade: r^2 = .08; introjected academic motivation approached significance (p = .002; pr = .25) as a predictor

The second set of regression analyses examining academic variables as predictors of athletic identification included academic identified academic motivation, academic identification, and academic perceived competence as predictors. The following results were demonstrated for each grade level:

7th grade: r^2 = .11; no significant predictors
9th grade: r^2 = .08; academic identification approached significance (p = .005, pr = .23) as a predictor
12th grade: r^2 = .06; no significant predictors

Cluster Analyses

Identification clusters. A cluster analysis was run for seventh, ninth, and twelfth graders on the two identification measures. Based on these two measures, three clusters were found for seventh graders, four clusters for ninth graders, and three clusters for twelfth graders. (All are 7-point scales.)

Table 18. Each Grade Level's Clusters Using the Identification Scales.

Seventh:

	Medium academic/ High athletic Group (n = 40)	**Medium academic/ Low athletic Group (n = 20)**	**Low academic/ Medium athletic Group (n = 38)**
AcID	4.78 (.66)	4.97 (.57)	2.98 (.59)
AthID	5.27 (.72)	2.63 (.84)	3.17 (1.20)

Ninth:

	Med acad/ Med athl Group (n = 43)	**Med acad/ Low athl Group (n = 31)**	**Low-Med acad/ Med athl Group (n = 43)**	**Low acad/ Low athl Group (n = 38)**
AcID	4.72 (.59)	4.68 (.51)	3.14 (.60)	2.81 (.69)
AthID	4.93 (.91)	1.90 (.64)	4.49 (.91)	1.78 (.62)

Twelfth:

	Medium academic/ Low athletic Group (n = 70)	**Medium academic/ Medium athletic Group (n = 45)**	**Low academic/ Low athletic Group (n = 47)**
AcID	4.78 (.65)	3.98 (.61)	2.83 (.59)
AthID	1.92 (.68)	4.61 (.99)	1.76 (.65)

Seventh graders. The seventh grade groups included one group with means that fell in the medium range in academics and in the high range in athletics; a group whose

means fell in the medium range for academics and the low range for athletics; and one group whose means fell in the low range for academics and the medium range for athletics. The group with lower athletic identification than academic identification was approximately half the size of either of the two other groups with medium or high athletic identification.

Ninth graders. Ninth graders were divided into four groups, including: a) one group whose means fell in the higher end of the medium range in both academics and athletics; b) one group whose academic mean fell in the medium range and whose athletic mean fell in the low range; c) one group whose means both fell in the medium range, but their academic mean was at the lower end of this range while their athletic mean was a the higher end; and d) one group whose means both fell in the low range. The two groups with medium-ranged means in both domains had higher identification in athletics than academics, while the other two groups demonstrated lower athletic than academic identification. All of these groups were fairly close in size.

Twelfth graders. The analysis of twelfth graders resulted in three groups: a) one group whose academic identification mean fell in the medium range and whose athletic identification mean fell in the low range; b) one group who demonstrated academic and athletic identification means that fell in medium range; and c) one group whose academic and athletic identification means fell in the low range. The first of these three groups was somewhat larger than the other two groups.

Using these clusters as grouping variables for each grade level, each groups' means and standard deviations were calculated on the academic and athletic perceived

competence, identified academic motivation, and athletic identified motivation measures (see Table 19). An ANOVA and post-hoc Bonferroni tests were then run to test for significant differences among the groups within each grade level.

Table 19. Means and Standard Deviations on Perceived Competence and Identified Motivation for Each Cluster at Each Grade Level.

Seventh:

	Medium academic/ High athletic Group	**Medium academic/ Low athletic Group**	**Low academic/ Medium athletic Group**
AcPC	3.01 (.68)	2.58 (.74)	2.67 (.70)
AcIDMOT	3.43 (.38)	3.51 (.34)	2.86 (.63)
AthPC	3.22 (.53)	2.15 (.48)	2.73 (.65)
AthIDMOT*	5.94 (.96)	3.67 (1.39)	4.03 (1.50)

Ninth:

	Med acad/ Med athl Group	**Med acad/ Low athl Group**	**Low-Med acad/ Med athl Group**	**Low acad/ Low athl Group**
AcPC	3.10 (.65)	3.06 (.71)	2.88 (.73)	2.61 (.67)
AcIDMOT	3.40 (.40)	3.50 (.37)	2.72 (.59)	2.64 (.65)
AthPC	3.13 (.57)	1.97 (.56)	3.13 (.46)	2.35 (.52)
AthIDMOT*	5.74 (1.01)	2.68 (1.36)	5.38 (1.19)	2.51 (1.32)

Twelfth:

	Medium academic/ Low athletic Group	**Medium academic/ Medium athletic Group**	**Low academic/ Low athletic Group**
AcPC	3.26 (.51)	2.94 (.55)	2.87 (.61)
AcIDMOT	3.38 (.39)	3.05 (.42)	2.85 (.55)
AthPC	2.21 (.64)	3.15 (.61)	2.32 (.59)
AthIDMOT*	3.06 (1.31)	5.42 (1.18)	2.33 (1.21)

*The identified athletic motivation measure used a 7-point scale, and all of the others used a 4-point scale.

Seventh graders. For the seventh grade, significant differences ($p < .001$) were demonstrated among the groups on all four measures except the academic perceived

competence scale. On the identified academic motivation measure, the low academic/medium athletic identification group differed significantly ($p < .001$) from both of the other groups. In the athletic domain, the medium academic/high athletic identification group differed significantly ($p < .001$) from both of the other groups on both of the measures.

Ninth graders. Like the seventh grade groups, the ninth grade groups differed significantly ($p < .001$) on all of the measures except the academic perceived competence scale. On the identified academic motivation scale, the medium academic/athletic group with the smaller academic identification mean and higher athletic identification mean and the low academic/athletic group differed significantly from the other two groups but did not differ significantly from each other. In the athletic domain, the significant group differences ($p < .001$) followed the same pattern for both athletic perceived competence and identified athletic motivation. The low academic/athletic identification group and the medium academic/low athletic group differed from both of the medium academic/athletic identification groups.

Twelfth graders. Unlike the other two age groups, the twelfth graders demonstrated significant differences ($p < .001$) on all of the measures, including academic perceived competence. On the identified academic motivation measure, the medium academic/low athletic group differed significantly from the other two groups, and on the academic perceived competence measure, the medium academic/low athletic group differed significantly from only the low academic/athletic group. In the athletic domain, the medium academic/athletic group differed significantly from both of the other

groups on both the identified athletic motivation and athletic perceived competence measures.

Perceived competence clusters. Another cluster analysis was run for seventh, ninth, and twelfth graders on the two perceived competence measures. Based on these two measures, two clusters were found for seventh graders, three clusters were found for ninth graders, and three clusters were found for twelfth graders (see Table 20). All are 4-point scales.

Table 20. Each Grade Level's Clusters Using the Perceived Competence Scales.

Seventh:

	High academic/ High athletic Group (*n* = 30)	**Medium academic/ Medium athletic Group (*n* = 71)**
AcPC	3.53 (.35)	2.46 (.56)
AthPC	3.44 (.47)	2.54 (.58)

Ninth:

	Med academic/ Med athletic Group (*n* = 55)	**High academic/ Med athletic Group (*n* = 61)**	**High academic/ High athletic Group (*n* = 36)**
AcPC	2.13 (.38)	3.29 (.36)	3.51 (.39)
AthPC	2.55 (.56)	2.36 (.60)	3.57 (.33)

Twelfth:

	High academic/ Low athletic Group (*n* = 65)	**High academic/ High athletic Group (*n* = 45)**	**Medium academic/ Medium athletic Group (*n* = 43)**
AcPC	3.38 (.34)	3.23 (.42)	2.40 (.46)
AthPC	1.99 (.42)	3.33 (.44)	2.38 (.56)

Seventh graders. For the seventh graders, the cluster analysis using academic and athletic perceived competence resulted in two clusters, one group who demonstrated high academic and athletic perceived competence and one group who demonstrated medium

academic and athletic perceived competence. The former group was less than half the size of the latter group.

Ninth graders. Ninth graders were divided into three clusters: a) one group with means that fell in the medium range for both the academic and athletic perceived competence measures; b) one group who demonstrated high academic perceived competence and medium athletic perceived competence; and c) one group whose means fell in the high range on both the academic and athletic perceived competence measures. The latter group was somewhat smaller in size than the other two groups.

Twelfth graders. As in the ninth graders' analysis, the cluster analysis with twelfth graders using academic and athletic perceived competence resulted in three clusters: a) one group whose academic perceived competence mean fell in the high range and whose athletic perceived competence mean fell in the low range; b) one group that demonstrated high means on both the academic and athletic perceived competence scales; and c) one group that demonstrated medium means on both of the scales. The first of these groups was somewhat larger than the other two groups, which were almost the same size.

Using these clusters as grouping variables for each grade level, each groups' means and standard deviations were calculated on the academic and athletic identification, identified academic motivation, and athletic identified motivation measures (see Table 21). An ANOVA and post-hoc Bonferroni tests were then run (for the ninth and twelfth grade groups only) to test for significant differences among the groups within each grade level.

Table 21. Means and Standard Deviations on Identification and Identified Motivation for Each Cluster at Each Grade Level.

Seventh:

	High academic/ High athletic Group	**Medium academic/ Medium athletic Group**
AcID	4.51 (.96)	3.92 (1.11)
AcIdMot*	3.27 (.49)	3.17 (.62)
AthID	4.78 (1.09)	3.53 (1.48)
AthIdMot	5.64 (1.20)	4.30 (1.68)

Ninth:

	Med academic/ Med athletic Group	**High academic/ Med athletic Group**	**High academic/ High athletic Group**
AcID	3.58 (1.09)	4.05 (1.02)	3.79 (1.04)
AcIdMot*	2.84 (.74)	3.26 (.52)	2.98 (.60)
AthID	3.23 (1.56)	2.88 (1.58)	4.82 (1.07)
AthIdMot	3.95 (1.75)	3.68 (1.88)	5.85 (1.19)

Twelfth:

	High academic/ Low athletic Group	**High academic/ High athletic Group**	**Medium academic/ Medium athletic Group**
AcID	4.11 (1.16)	4.00 (.76)	3.75 (1.02)
AcIdMot*	3.27 (.46)	3.21 (.39)	2.84 (.53)
AthID	1.75 (.77)	3.64 (1.44)	2.65 (1.31)
AthIdMot	2.71 (1.40)	4.58 (1.66)	3.43 (1.65)

*The identified academic motivation measure used a 4-point scale, and all of the others used a 7-point scale.

Seventh graders. The two seventh grade groups demonstrated significant differences ($p < .001$) on both the athletic identification and identified athletic motivation measures. No significant differences were demonstrated on the academic domain measures for these two groups.

Ninth graders. For the ninth grade groups, significant differences ($p < .001$) were revealed on all of the measures except academic identification. Post-hoc tests showed no

significant differences among the three groups on either of the academic domain measures; however, on both of the athletic domain measures, the high academic/athletic group demonstrated significantly higher scores than the other two groups.

Twelfth graders. The three twelfth grade groups demonstrated significant differences ($p < .001$) on all of the measures except the academic identification scale. Post-hoc tests revealed that the medium academic/athletic group differed significantly ($p < .001$) from both of the other groups on the identified academic motivation scale. In the athletic domain, all of the groups differed significantly from each other on the athletic identification scale, but only the high academic/low athletic and high academic/high athletic groups differed on the identified athletic motivation measure.

Discussion

Several analyses were conducted to examine the patterns and differences among the grade levels to examine the three hypotheses that were initially presented to organize the data analysis. The discussion is organized according to these hypotheses. The hypothesis is presented first followed by the discussion of the analyses that relate to that hypothesis and the findings that either support or refute it.

As students' ages increase, their scores in academic identification, academic perceived competence, and the forms of academic motivation will decrease.

In the academic domain, the analysis resulted in only one significant mean difference among the three groups: seventh graders demonstrated significantly greater external academic motivation than either ninth or twelfth graders, supporting the hypothesis. Several interesting trends, however, were also revealed among the three grade

levels, some of which also supported the hypothesis and some of which did not. Introjected academic motivation, for example, followed the same pattern as external academic motivation, greatest in seventh grade, less in ninth grade, and least in twelfth grade. On the other hand, academic identification and both of the more internal forms of academic motivation followed a different trend, highest in seventh grade, lowest in ninth grade, and second highest in twelfth grade. Also not following the hypothesis, academic perceived competence actually increased as the students' ages increased.

Two more general trends can, thus, be seen in these data:

(a) as the students age, their academic perceived competence increases while their more extrinsic forms of academic motivation decrease; and

(b) students' academic identification and more internal forms of academic motivation follow the same pattern, highest when students are younger, dipping when they enter high school, and increasing somewhat toward the end of their high school careers.

The dip in ninth graders' academic identification and more internal forms of academic motivation might be due, in part, to the make-up of the sample at this grade level. At this particular high school, during the 2000-2001 school year, 231 ninth graders were retained. If this same trend held from 2001-2002, then approximately one-third of the ninth grade were retainees from the previous year. It is likely that such students who have been retained and, therefore, demonstrated academic failure would be less identified and less internally motivated to perform in academics.

As students' ages increase, their scores in athletic identification, athletic perceived competence, and the forms of athletic motivation will decrease.

The means in the athletic domain did support the hypothesis; however, only a few

of the decreases from one grade level to the next were significant. In athletic identification and external athletic motivation, the twelfth graders demonstrated significantly lower scores than both the seventh and ninth graders, while in introjected and identified athletic motivation, twelfth graders demonstrated significantly lower scores than only the seventh graders.

These results demonstrate that as the students' ages increase their athletic motivation, identification, and perceived competence decrease. Interestingly, as with the academic domain, external motivation significantly decreased from the seventh grade to the twelfth grade, but in contrast to the academic domain, athletic identification scores, not perceived competence scores, followed a pattern in relationship to external athletic motivation (i.e., both significantly decreasing from seventh to twelfth grade). The two other forms of extrinsic athletic motivation also exhibited significant decreases from seventh to twelfth grade, while intrinsic athletic motivation and athletic perceived competence did not demonstrate significant decreases. Therefore, in the athletic domain, again in contrast to the academic domain, intrinsic motivation and perceived competence (rather than identification) demonstrated similar trends. Taking all of this together, three more general findings are revealed:

(a) all four forms of athletic motivation, athletic identification, and athletic perceived competence followed the same pattern, decreasing as the students' ages increase;

(b) athletic identification and the three extrinsic forms of athletic motivation demonstrated similar decreases; and

(c) intrinsic athletic motivation and athletic perceived competence demonstrated

similarly smaller decreases than the other constructs in the athletic domain.

For all three grade levels, the same relationships will exist among motivation, identification, and perceived competence within both domains; however, as students' ages increase, the relationships between the academic and athletic domain will either decrease if positive or increase if negative.

Correlations. The correlation analysis revealed some patterns that support this hypothesis and some that did not support it. In support of the first part of the hypothesis, for all three age groups, identification and perceived competence in the academic domain did not relate to one another, but these two variables in the athletic domain did relate. Contradicting the hypothesis, however, for seventh graders, academic perceived competence did not relate significantly to any of the forms of academic motivation, but for both of the older age groups, academic perceived competence related to both intrinsic and identified academic motivation, and as the age of the students increased, these relationships increased. Similar correlations in the athletic domain, however, supported the hypothesis in that all three grade levels demonstrated significant relationships among perceived competence and all four forms of motivation. Also, all three groups' academic identification demonstrated strongest relationships with identified and introjected academic motivation and weaker but still significant relationships with intrinsic academic motivation. Another contradictory finding was that in both the seventh and ninth grade groups, academic identification did not relate significantly to external academic motivation, but in twelfth grade these two variables did relate significantly; however, this finding may be due to the differences in sample size because the seventh grade correlation was actually larger than the twelfth grade correlation. Unlike in the academic domain, in the athletic domain, identification did significantly relate to all four forms of

athletic motivation for all three grade levels.

A few other findings within the correlational analyses supported the hypothesis. Across the grade levels, in both academics and athletics, identification related more strongly to all of the forms of motivation than did perceived competence. For all three age groups, out of the forms of academic motivation, academic perceived competence related most strongly to intrinsic motivation, while identification related most strongly to identified motivation; however, relating identification and perceived competence to the forms of motivation in the athletic domain, all three groups' identification and perceived competence related most strongly to identified athletic motivation.

The correlational analyses of the students' motivation also revealed somewhat similar patterns across the grade levels in that for all of the groups, intrinsic, identified, and introjected academic motivation significantly related to one another and external and intrinsic academic motivation did not significantly relate to one another, and in the athletic domain, all of the forms of motivation significantly related to one another with intrinsic and identified athletic motivation exhibiting the strongest relationships. A few findings in this area, however, did contradict the hypothesis: a) the twelfth graders' identified and external academic motivation were not significantly related while these two variables were related for the younger groups; and b) the twelfth graders' intrinsic and identified academic motivation exhibited the strongest relationship while seventh and ninth graders' identified and introjected academic motivation demonstrated the strongest relationship.

The second part of the hypothesis, which focused on a decrease across grade level

in the relationship between academics and athletics, was generally supported by the correlational analyses. For example, only in the seventh grade sample were perceived competence in the two domains and identification in the two domains related. As the age of the students increased, these relationships between academic and athletic perceived competence and between academic and athletic identification decreased. A somewhat different pattern, however, was revealed among these variables and the different forms of motivation across the two domains: a) seventh graders alone demonstrated only a significant relationship between academic identification and intrinsic athletic motivation; b) ninth graders alone demonstrated only a significant relationship between academic perceived competence and intrinsic athletic motivation; c) twelfth graders demonstrated no significant relationships among academic perceived competence or identification and the forms of athletic motivation; and d) none of the groups demonstrated significant relationships among athletic perceived competence or identification and the forms of academic motivation. The relationships among the forms of motivation across the two domains, as a general rule, decreased as the age of the students increased with seventh graders demonstrating three significant relationships among these variables, ninth graders demonstrating one significant relationship, and twelfth graders demonstrating no significant relationships.

Multiple regressions. Several multiple regression analyses were conducted, and some revealed results that supported the hypothesis and some revealed results that did not. In support of the hypothesis, all of the grade levels demonstrated significant findings in both of the domains when either all of the forms of motivation or identified motivation

and perceived competence were entered as predictors of identification. Also, when the four forms of motivation were entered into the equation in the academic domain, identified and introjected academic motivation were the strongest predictors of academic identification, and when a similar equation was calculated for the athletic domain, identified athletic motivation acted as the strongest predictor. In addition, when identified motivation and perceived competence were entered into the equation, identified motivation was found to be a significant predictor for all three age groups in the academic domain, while both identified motivation and perceived competence were significant predictors for all three age groups in the athletic domain.

On the other hand, a few differences, which contradicted the hypothesis, among the grade levels were also revealed. For example, in the academic domain equations using all of the forms of motivation as predictors, as the students' ages increased, the ability of these variables to predict academic identification decreased. The other three sets of equations revealed that the variables entered as predictors did a better job predicting identification for the ninth graders than for the seventh or twelfth graders. One other difference was revealed in the athletic domain – in the sets of equations using the four forms of athletic motivation as predictors of athletic identification, as the students' ages increased, the ability of external athletic motivation to predict athletic identification also increased.

The second part of the hypothesis was also examined by regression analyses using variables from one domain to predict identification in the other domain. The last set of these analyses supported the hypothesis by demonstrating that the ability of academic

perceived competence and identification and identified academic motivation to predict athletic identification decreased as the students' ages increased. Similarly, the equations using the four forms of athletic motivation to predict academic identification demonstrated a drop in prediction ability from seventh to ninth grade; however, this decrease did not hold for the twelfth grade, and the predictive value actually increased slightly for them. The other two sets of regression equations, a) using athletic perceived competence and identification and identified athletic motivation to predict academic identification, and b) using the four forms of academic motivation to predict athletic identification, revealed somewhat discrepant findings. The former of these equations did a better job predicting academic identification for the ninth graders, while the latter predicted athletic identification better for the twelfth graders. In addition, the predictors that were found to be significant did not follow the expected pattern. For the seventh graders, none of these equations revealed significant predictors for academic or athletic identification. For the ninth graders, athletic perceived competence demonstrated a significant negative relationship with academic identification, and both academic and athletic identification demonstrated stronger (but not significant) relationships with each other in the equations. For the twelfth graders, no significant predictors were revealed in any of the equations, but identified athletic motivation was revealed as the strongest predictor of academic identification, while introjected academic motivation was the strongest predictor of athletic identification (both demonstrating positive relationships).

Cluster analyses. Two cluster analyses were conducted to examine how identification within the two domains and perceived competence within the two domains

would differentiate among the students at each grade level. The identification measures clustered seventh and twelfth graders into three groups and ninth graders into four groups, while the perceived competence measures clustered the seventh graders into two groups and the ninth and twelfth graders into three groups. Examining the different clusters at each grade level, some similarities across grade levels supporting the hypothesis and some differences across grade levels contradicting the hypothesis were revealed.

In the identification cluster analyses, each grade level included a group of students who demonstrated higher identification in both domains, a group of students with somewhat lower identification in both domains, and a group with higher academic identification and somewhat lower athletic identification. The ninth grade, however, also revealed a group with somewhat lower academic identification and higher athletic identification. For all of the grade levels, at least some group differences were revealed in academic identified motivation**.** Interestingly, neither the seventh grade groups nor the ninth grade groups differed significantly in academic perceived competence, but the twelfth grade groups showed some significant differences on this variable. For all three grade levels, significant differences were revealed among the clusters in both athletic perceived competence and identified motivation.

The perceived competence cluster analyses revealed a group with higher perceived competence in both domains and a group with somewhat lower perceived competence in both domains. The ninth and twelfth grade analyses also uncovered a third group who demonstrated higher academic and lower athletic perceived competence.

Similar to the identification clusters, none of the perceived competence cluster groups at any of the grade levels demonstrated significant differences in academic identification. Neither of the younger age groups' clusters demonstrated significant differences in identified academic motivation, but one of the twelfth graders' clusters did demonstrate significantly lower identified academic motivation than the other two clusters. The clusters at all three grade levels, on the other hand, demonstrated significant differences in both athletic perceived competence and identified athletic motivation.

These cluster analyses findings taken in combination with the correlational and multiple regression analyses revealed some general trends among the variables' relationships across grade levels, some supporting the hypotheses and some contradicting it. Trends that supported the hypothesis included the strong relationship between identified motivation and identification in both domains across grade levels. In addition, all three grade levels demonstrated strong relationships among intrinsic, identified, and introjected academic motivation and strong relationships among all four forms of athletic motivation. The students at all three grade levels also exhibited strong relationships among athletic perceived competence and all of the forms of athletic motivation; however, in both academics and athletics, for all three grade levels, identification related more strongly with the forms of motivation than did perceived competence. Generally speaking, across all three grade levels, the athletic domain revealed much stronger relationships among variables than did the academic domain.

Having discussed the similarities across grade levels, I address some of the differences, both those that support the second part of the hypothesis and those that do

not support the hypothesis. Across the domains, weaker and fewer relationships were demonstrated as the students' ages increased, supporting the second part of the hypothesis. In addition, one of the regression analyses that included athletic variables to predict academic identification and academic variables to predict athletic identification across the grade levels revealed a decreasing trend in predictability as the students' ages increased; however, this was the only one of these analyses to do so, and the results of all of the regression analyses actually seemed to reveal more differences among the grade levels that contradicted the hypothesis. Some of the general contradictions of the hypothesis included the strengthening of the relationship between academic perceived competence and the more internal forms of academic motivation as the students' ages increased. Another contradiction was the changing relationships among the forms of academic motivation as the students' ages increased, with intrinsic and identified academic motivation becoming more related with each other and less related with external academic motivation. One interesting finding in the multiple regression analyses was that for the ninth graders, athletic perceived competence significantly predicted academic identification but did so through a negative partial correlation, while in the same equation, athletic identification predicted academic identification through a positive partial correlation. Also noteworthy were the different number of clusters revealed at each grade level using the identification and perceived competence clusters.

Chapter 6

QUALITATIVE RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Because the ninth graders demonstrated somewhat different findings and more differentiated scores on the quantitative measures, I chose to focus the second phase of my study on students finishing up their first year in high school. Twelve students agreed to participate in this part of the study, and this chapter provides the results of the qualitative analysis of their interviews and observations. To begin this chapter, brief introductions to each student are discussed (see Appendices B and C for the full-length Case Studies of the students and a Participant Information Chart summarizing some of their information). These glimpses of the 12 students are then followed by an explanation of the themes that were derived from the coding and analyses of the interview and observation data. Finally, an explanation of the central phenomenon with a model is provided and followed by a discussion of the central phenomenon, its relationship with the themes, and how the model applied to each student.

The Students

Twelve students participated in the study's second phase, and each of these students represented one of five categories based on their identification scores from the first phase of the study. Initially, case studies for all of the students were created to provide broad pictures of the students' relationships, perspectives, and beliefs (see Appendix B for the complete set of case studies). In the following sections, I provide a brief description of each student and their relationships and perspectives. Each section contains the descriptions for the students within the original categories that I used to

choose the students for the second, intensive observation and interview phase of the study. Following these descriptions are five charts depicting the relationships among these students' scores on the quantitative measures (i.e., academic and athletic identification, motivation, and perceived competence). It should be noted that high or low academic identification scores do not equate to successful or less successful students, and these scores were indicators only of how these students viewed themselves in relation to the academic domain.

High Academic/High Athletic Identification: Alex, Charles, and Jessica

Alex, a White student-athlete, played baseball on the school's freshman team. He had played baseball most of his life and had many friends with whom he had grown up who also played baseball or some other sport at the high school (e.g., Kyle and Greta, two other students in this study). In addition, Alex felt that he was very successful in school and reported making As and Bs. His favorite subject was math, and he did not enjoy English, especially reading. Alex was driven to do well in both academics and athletics by many reasons. Not only did he feel that doing well in both of these areas was important, but he also had more extrinsic reasons like his parents', friends', and coaches' influences. Alex was very pragmatic in his explanation for why he had done well in both domains and continued to do well: He had always done well in both and that was the way it had always been. In the future, Alex planned on going to college, playing college-level and possibly professional baseball, and having children who were also athletes.

An African-American student-athlete, Charles played football on the school's freshman team and viewed himself as a "class clown." Also, he often played basketball

during lunch with one of the average academic/average athletic identified students, Freddy. Like Alex, Charles enjoyed math more than any other subject, but he did not really have any classes that he did not enjoy. Also like Alex, Charles felt that doing well in both academics and athletics was important. Charles, however, focused on doing well in academics to please his father and be able to continue playing his sport, while he played his sport because he loved it. In fact, although Charles discussed wanting to go to college, he also talked about slipping up and going straight into playing professional football if that was an option for him. Charles' friends also influenced him to some extent; however, he felt that his father had the biggest effect on decisions that he made, and he appreciated his father keeping him focused on doing well in both academics and athletics.

Compared to Alex and Charles, Jessica, an African-American student-athlete, was more extrinsically motivated to do well in academics. Jessica, who was friends with Sara, one of the average academic/average athletic identified students, played basketball on the freshman team but felt that she would be moving up to the varsity team during her sophomore year. For Jessica, almost everything that she did academically was a "have to." She did say that she enjoyed her math class, but she hated her English class and teacher. Jessica's biggest influences were her brother, who was going to play football in college the following year, and Kobe Bryant, a professional basketball player, who Jessica at one point in time wanted to follow by going straight into professional basketball after high school. Jessica had changed her plans for now to include going to college, playing both college-level and professional basketball, and becoming a lawyer.

She viewed her academics as a fall back to playing her sport, and yet despite these extrinsic academic drives, she generally focused on all of her work and contributed well in her classes.

High Academic/Low Athletic Identification: David and Trina

In contrast to the three students previously described, David, a White student who was involved in the school's ROTC program, did not enjoy playing sports. Instead, he focused on doing well academically and learning about the military, which he planned on entering upon graduating from high school. For David, doing well in school had always been easy, even in subjects that he did not necessarily enjoy. David discussed intrinsic reasons participating in certain classes, such as English and history, but he did not enjoy his math or science classes as much. Interestingly, however, David and his best friend talked a lot about science and technology, so much so that David felt that people viewed him as a "nerd." In addition to his more internal reasons for participating in academics, David also explained that he did not like to thwart authority, and he hated getting in trouble. In fact, he and his friend discussed how they really should try to have more fun and do less work; however, when I observed David in class, he did not talk much to other people and mainly focused on just doing what the teacher had asked. In the future, David planned on going to college, joining the Air Force, and eventually attending graduate school.

Although they scored similarly on the identification measures and both did not view themselves as sports people, David and the other high academic/low athletic identified student, Trina, differed quite a bit in their views of themselves in academics.

Trina, a White student who also participated in the school's ROTC program, did not have an easy time succeeding in academics. She reported making Cs in school, even in her favorite class, algebra, and felt that the only reason she had passed her classes was because she worked hard. Rather than focusing on going to college or being successful, Trina mainly wanted to graduate from high school. Both of Trina's parents had dropped out of high school, and at the time, Trina was living with her grandparents even though her parents lived in the same town. Trina relied on her grandparents, friends, and sister, whom Trina believed was smart, to support her in her academic endeavors. She did not play any sports, and although she was involved in the ROTC program, she was not as avid about it as David was. Trina did talk about going to college, but she did not seem as confident as other students about achieving this goal.

Average Academic/Average Athletic Identification: Freddy, Irene, and Sara

Three students demonstrated average identification in both areas. The first of these students, Freddy, was involved in the Upward Bound program, participated in boxing outside of school, and often played basketball during lunch with Charles and several other boys. Freddy's family was from Guatemala, and he viewed his father as a big influence because of his hard work and effort that Freddy saw him put toward supporting their family. Due to his own hard work, Freddy felt that he was successful academically, but he also felt that some of his classes were a waste of time, and therefore, he often chose not to attend them, including his favorite class, algebra. When I first interviewed him, Freddy said that he was no longer skipping class because the Upward Bound program required perfect attendance; however, during my subsequent

observations I noticed Freddy skipping quite often, and at one point, he explained to me that they were not doing anything important in those classes any way, so he chose not to attend. At the last interview, however, Freddy had changed his perspective again after attending several weeks of Upward Bound classes and had decided not to skip class any more. He had failed almost all of his classes from the second semester of his freshman year and, therefore, would be retaking them again in the fall. Freddy felt that being part of the Upward Bound program was important to him, and because of this, he was willing to put more effort into his academics including attendance, thereby demonstrating more extrinsic reasons for succeeding academically. In addition to academics, Freddy participated in boxing with a personal trainer and had won several tournaments; however, toward the end of the study, Freddy had given up boxing for the time being to work and make money. In the future, Freddy planned on attending college and owning his own business.

The other two students, Irene and Sara, differed from Freddy to some extent in how they viewed themselves. Irene, a White student-athlete, played on the school's varsity golf team, enjoyed reading, writing, and learning about history, and hated math. Irene felt that she was extremely capable in both sports and specific academic areas, but she had chosen to drop out of all of the sports that she had played in her younger years so that she would be "taken more seriously" academically in high school. Irene's mother had done some writing in college, and Irene wanted to become a writer and was, in fact, working on a book at the time of my study. Her father, on the other hand, had pushed her to do well in sports and mathematics, and Irene discussed having a stressful relationship

with him. In addition to her sports and academics, Irene also played in the school's band and had started her own band with her best friend who was also in the band and played on the golf team. As to the future, Irene planned on going to college, becoming a lawyer, and continuing to play music.

The third average academic/athletic identified student, Sara, was an African-American student-athlete who played on the freshman basketball team and was friends with Jessica. Sara felt that she was very capable in academics and discussed making all A's unless she became "lazy" and "slacked off," which resulted in her making Bs. In her sport, Sara did not feel as confident as some of the other student-athletes, and she mentioned not wanting to play in college. In fact, she focused more on getting an academic scholarship and doing well in her academics now so that she could achieve this and similar long-term goals. Despite this focus on doing well academically, Sara did not like any of her classes and felt that she was just trying to get some of her harder classes out of the way. Like Alex, one of the high academic/high athletic identified students, Sara was pragmatic in her discussion of doing well in academics and felt that she had always done well academically and this was just the way it was. Although she talked a bit about relationships with her coaches and teachers, she did not focus much on these and even mentioned not getting "close" to people like this. Sara's future plans included going to college and being successful in whatever career on which she decided.

Low Academic/High Athletic Identification: Kyle and Greta

The two students in the low academic/high athletic identified category were friends with each other and friends with Alex, one of the high academic/high athletic

identified students. Kyle, a White student-athlete, played on the school's freshman baseball and football teams and came from an athletically inclined family. Kyle's father and two older brothers had all been successful high school athletes, but only one of them (Kyle's oldest brother) had actually graduated from high school. For Kyle, his classes and academics were meaningless, especially in comparison to his being successful in baseball and football, and he mentioned having "zero motivation" in academics. In fact, the only reason that Kyle felt he passed his classes was because his coaches made sure that he did so that he could play his sports. In contrast to his athletic ability, Kyle felt that he had very little academic ability. During my observations of Kyle, I noticed that he accomplished next to nothing in his least favorite class, algebra, and that the same was true, with maybe a slight improvement, in his favorite class, world geography, which was taught by one of his baseball coaches. Like Alex, Kyle talked about going to college to play one or both of his sports, but like Charles, he also mentioned the possibility of going straight into professional sports after high school.

One of Kyle's and Alex's friends, Greta, also demonstrated low academic/high athletic identification. A White student-athlete, Greta played on the school's varsity soccer team and hated having to go to school. She felt that attending high school and eventually college were means-to-an-end so that she could get a good job and make enough money to support herself. Greta's favorite class was biology because it was taught by a coach whom she liked, and her least favorite class was Spanish, which she failed and was going to make up in the fall by taking American Sign Language (a class in which "everyone makes 90s"). Greta felt that she learned differently than other students,

described herself as "average" academically, and believed that any success she had academically derived from her hard work. For Greta, her mother influenced her academics to some extent, but also passing in order to play her sport was important. In the future, Greta planned on going to college and playing her sport at the college level.

Low Academic/Low Athletic Identification: Steven and Kerrie

Although neither of the two students who represented the low academic/low athletic identified category discussed playing sports much at all, they were very different in their perspectives on academics. A Latino student, Steven viewed himself, to some extent, as not being academically capable. He discussed very negative perspectives of academics, school, and society in general. Although Steven talked about loving his mother and the rest of his family, he also brought up several issues that he had with his family, including hating his stepfather and his biological father's not caring about him. Steven was also concerned about being discriminated against by teachers and other students and being affiliated with gangs, and these priorities, along with his anger and depression, eclipsed any discussion that we had about school or academics. Steven discussed doing well in school as an impossibility because of all of the other problems and issues that he had to think about in his life. During our first interview and most of my observations, Steven had a girlfriend in the eighth grade with whom he talked about having a child and for whom he planned on failing his freshman year so that they could take classes together the following year. However, by the end of my interviews, they had broken up, and Steven had failed his freshman year, which he lamented tremendously. Despite failing this year, Steven discussed going to college and becoming a lawyer;

however, like Trina, one of the high academic/low athletic identified students, his confidence in his ability to achieve these goals was not very high.

Unlike Steven, Kerrie, the other low academic/low athletic identified student, felt that she was very capable in school and would eventually attend college. Rather than having all of the problems and issues that Steven had to deal with, Kerrie did not identify with academics as much because she was focused on doing well in drama and being on the school's dance team. Like Irene's intrinsic interests in band and writing, Kerrie's intrinsic interest in entertaining people overshadowed her motivation in more academic classes. Kerrie had always done well in school and even called herself a "teacher's pet" in her younger years. She felt that she was both academically able and worked hard in her classes to make sure that she achieved all As and Bs. Although Kerrie mentioned enjoying sports, she did not like the importance that others placed on athletics and felt that grades were much more important than being successful in sports. Kerrie planned on going to college, continuing her career in acting and the theater, and majoring in something other than drama to provide her with a fall back plan.

Categorizing the Students Using the Quantitative Data

In this next step, I then categorized the 12 students according to their scores on the 12 quantitative measures they had filled out in Phase I of the study. The categories within these constructs were derived from the same reasoning as the categories used in the cluster analyses: (a) "high" refers to a score of 5 to 7 on a 7-point scale or a score of 3 to 4 on a 4-point scale; (b) "medium" refers to a score of 3 to 5 on a 7-point scale or a score of 2 to 3 on a 4-point scale; and (c) "low" refers to a score of 1 to 3 on a 7-point

scale or a score of 1 to 2 on a 4-point scale. Within the motivation groups, a student was categorized as having a certain type of academic or athletic motivation if his or her score on that scale fell in the "high" range. If none of their motivation scores within a domain fell in this range, then they were categorized as being "amotivated" in that domain. To represent the relationships the 12 students demonstrated on the measures, five figures were created to represent the different cross-categorizations:

(a) Academic and athletic identification;
(b) Academic and athletic perceived competence;
(c) Academic and athletic motivation;
(d) Academic identification and motivation; and
(e) Athletic identification and motivation.

		Academic Identification		
		High	**Medium**	**Low**
Athletic Identification	**High**	Jessica Alex	Charles Greta	Kyle
	Average		Sara Irene Freddy	
	Low	David Trina		Kerrie Steven

Figure 5. Categorizing Students on the Two Identification Constructs.

		Academic Perceived Competence		
		High	**Medium**	**Low**
Athletic Perceived Competence	**High**	Alex Freddy Irene	Jessica	Kyle
	Medium	Charles Kerrie Sara		Steven Greta
	Low	David		Trina

Figure 6. Categorizing Students on the Two Perceived Competence Constructs.

Athletic Motivation	Academic Motivation: Intrinsic	Integrated/ Identified	Introjected/ External	Amotivated
Intrinsic	Irene	Alex Charles	Alex Jessica Greta	Kyle
Integrated/ Identified		Alex Sara Charles Freddy	Alex Jessica Greta Sara	Kyle
Introjected/ External		Alex	Alex	
Amotivated		Trina David	Kerrie Trina	Steven

Figure 7. Categorizing Students on the Two Motivation Constructs.

Academic Motivation	Academic Identification: High	Medium	Low
Intrinsic		Irene	
Integrated/ Identified	Alex David Trina	Charles Sara Freddy	
Introjected/ External	Jessica Alex Trina	Sara	Greta Kerrie
Amotivated			Kyle Steven

Figure 8. Categorizing Students in Academic Identification and Motivation.

		Athletic Identification		
		High	**Medium**	**Low**
Athletic Motivation	**Intrinsic**	Jessica Charles Alex Kyle Greta	Irene	
	Integrated/ Identified	Jessica Charles Alex Kyle Greta	Sara Freddy	
	Introjected/ External	Alex		
	Amotivated			Trina David Kerrie Steven

Figure 9. Categorizing Students in Athletic Identification and Motivation.

Themes

After open coding all of the students' interviews and observations, I then organized the data into categories and sub-categories, looking for themes emerging from the data. Below I present the six major themes I saw. Following from several theories such as Erikson's socio-emotional development of identity (1956), Harter and her colleagues' differentiation of identities across contexts (1992, 1997), and Foucault's identity politics (1976, as referred to in Kenway, 1998), the first three themes, school as context, others in context, and grades, present several different influences and relationships within the students' contexts that had a large impact on their identity processes. The other three themes, reasons for success, different forms of motivation, and future plans, seemed related to the motivational processes and their influences that

students discussed. These were related to the work of motivation theorists, such as Deci, Ryan, and their colleagues (1991, 2000, 2002), Weiner (1986), and (Anderman, Anderman, & Griesinger, 1999). In the following section, I discuss each of these themes and the categories that fell within each of them.

School as Context

The school environment with its rules and norms provided the context for the students' lives and, as such, is one of the themes that arose from my data, especially the observational data. The school was the setting for all of the students' academic and athletic endeavors, and each student viewed this context's influence on them and their perspectives of themselves differently. In this way, the school as context played an important part in shaping how these students viewed themselves. The four categories that comprised this theme, skipping, doing nothing in class, coaches as teachers, and sports-focused school, interacted with one another to influence the lives and perspectives of each student in different ways.

Skipping

Walking down the halls of Robertson High School, I encountered many students out of class walking around, talking with their friends. In addition, at any point during the day, the cafeteria and gymnasium contain many students whom some teachers might find are missing from their classrooms. Many of the teachers with whom I talked were very aware of students skipping class and hanging around in these areas, but they did not appear overly anxious about the problem. In fact, one teacher was walking with me by the cafeteria, and I commented to her about all of the students sitting at the tables rather

than sitting in their classrooms. She looked over at the groups of students lounging in the lunchroom talking with their friends and agreed with me that the students should be in class, but rather than going to the students to ask them where they were supposed to be or to the office to find someone to get the students back to class, we continued down the hallway. As we moved on out of sight of the students, I turned back one last time to notice Steven sitting at a table, waving to me, and smiling.

Many students discussed either their skipping class or other students' skipping. For example, one day when eating lunch with David and his friend Shaun, I asked them about all of the students who seemed to linger in the cafeteria even after their lunch period was over. David then said that he liked to call those people's lunch "E lunch," which stood for "every lunch" (which also fit with the names of the real lunch periods, A, B, C, and D lunches). He and Shaun then went on to tell me how they had decided that these people had the right perspective and that they themselves should be having more fun and doing less work. After all, Shaun said, actually doing your work and following the rules just led to doing more work, so, logically, why not just not do work and have more fun because surely having fun would lead to having even more fun. Another student, Trina, in discussing skipping class with her friend mentioned that she had never skipped class. Her friend, Monica, on the other hand, bragged that she skipped class all the time, and Trina smiled at this a little and seemed to consider it thoughtfully.

Other students such as Steven, Freddy, Greta, and Charles, talked about how they had skipped class on occasion. For Steven, skipping class was part of his daily routine, it seemed. I often noticed him in the hallways, gymnasium, or cafeteria when he should

have been in class. Before I was due to observe him in his French class, I ran into him in the cafeteria to ask him if he was going to that class. He said that he would make sure to be there, and when I began observing in the class, Steven did show up, but he was a few minutes late, came in with his earphones on, and kept them on until the teacher asked him to take them off. Freddy also talked to me about skipping quite a bit. In addition, when I went to observe him in English, he did not show up; I went to the cafeteria, where I found him. When I went over to talk with him about trying to observe him in English, he seemed surprised to see me, and right after our conversation, he left the cafeteria with two of his friends and never returned. Freddy and I had a conversation later on about skipping, and he told me that he had skipped English 42 times during the year and did not like this class because all they did was watch movies and "do nothing." Greta's perspective on skipping paralleled Freddy's view. Both of them mentioned that they only skip the classes in which they know "nothing" is happening and discussed how no one gets in trouble for skipping, "I usually skip. One time I skipped chemistry for three weeks," and he continued, "I didn't get caught. That was it. [Last] month and you don't get caught, and then, it don't teach you nothing" (Freddy).

Doing Nothing in Class

Not only did students discuss how often they did "nothing" in their class, but I also observed how little work they actually did in class. This particular high school used block scheduling, so each class was an hour and forty minutes long. Because the classes were "so long," as some teachers put it, they would allow the students to have a 10-, 15-, or even 30-minute period of time to talk with their friends. Sometimes this break took

place in the middle of class, and sometimes it took place at the end. In addition, many teachers either did not organize their classes well so that the students sat for five to ten minutes at a time waiting for different activities to start, or they did not monitor students well enough, so that students like Luke and Steven did nothing productive during entire class periods and students like Trina struggled with assignments because no one showed her how to find the answers.

When teachers did find activities to fill the entire class period, they often made their students participate in assignments or other activities that were clearly meant just to fill the time. For example, one teacher showed movies both times I observed during his English class (one of which was Hoosiers, which seemed completely unrelated to this English class), and another teacher made her students play hangman for the last thirty minutes of class, even though the students clearly just wanted to talk with each other. Another teacher gave his students an assignment answering four questions from the textbook (what he called "bell work"), and while the students worked on this assignment for 30 minutes, he proceeded to talk with three or four of the students in the class (mainly girls) about movies and other topics completely unrelated to the class, biology.

Coaches as Teachers

Coaches taught many of these classes in which much time was wasted. Of the 27 classes that I observed, eight were taught by coaches, six of whom gave their students at least 15 minutes of free time to talk with their friends. I observed in two of these coaches' classes because they were two students' favorite classes, Greta's biology class and Kyle's world geography class. Both of these students were athletes, and, in fact, Kyle's freshman

baseball coach taught his favorite class. Greta and Kyle told me that these classes were their favorites because they liked the coaches who taught them. As Kyle put it, "History and world geography's probably been my easiest…because I have a baseball coach as my teacher. His class is really easy."

On the other hand, I observed Trina and Freddy in two coaches' classes because these classes were their least favorite classes. For example, a coach taught Freddy's English class, in which they watched movies both times I went to observe. As another example, Trina told me, "I can't do biology," and that this was her least favorite class. During the classroom observation, I noticed that the teacher/coach rarely talked with the students about how to find the right answers and simply told them they were wrong when they gave an incorrect answer out loud. Instead of focusing on discussions related to biology, the teacher/coach discussed many other unrelated topics with a select few students, while several others laid their heads on their desks and did nothing. When I asked Irene, another student who had this coach's biology class, about the teacher and the class, she told me that it was too easy and she wished that she could be in a different biology class so that she could learn more.

Sports-focused School

At one point during our initial interview, Jessica said to me, "Look around," indicating the banners on the cafeteria walls around us. On these walls, were phrases like, "Good luck this season," and "Win district" [not actual words on banners]. When I walked through the gymnasium or onto the football field, big banners and signs indicating past district, regional, and state championships demonstrated that Robertson

High School had a reputation for being competitive in sports. In our last interview, Freddy, who planned on possibly playing on one of the school's varsity teams when he was a junior, talked about how good Robertson High was:

> We're about to be 5A, but we're already playing 5A schools, and we dominated them…soccer, everything. We won. In football, we're like number one two years running and all that. But even people from [different town] and other schools are now trying to go to Robertson because of our titles and everything. You know, we got, like, titles in basketball, everything.

Although some students, like Freddy, believed that this was a positive aspect of their high school, others, like Kerrie, Jessica, and Irene, did not appreciate the focus placed on sports. After Jessica pointed the banners out to me, she said:

> I don't see anything about school… Sometimes it's a bad thing because, like, sometimes it gives athletes the attitude that since I'm an athlete, I run the world, I run the school. Just like, there's some real bad attitudey [sic] jocks at this school.

In addition, when Irene talked about quitting all of the sports that she had played previously and picking up golf instead, she told me, "I wasn't being taken seriously as an athlete," and continued, "It (golf) was a sport not a lot of people expected me to take;" and when I compared golf to other types of sports, she brought up football players and told me that Robertson was a sports-oriented school. One other student, Kerrie, expressed her view about Robertson High School's focus on sports as follows:

> I like to play sports, but I don't like how important they make it in school. They make it too big of a deal, when grades are what really matter. [and she continued later] Like football, I'm not going to go out and play whatever, soccer, because, you know, everyone loves people who play soccer. I'm just, I don't like sports…You know, last season it's football. Now it's soccer.

Others in Context

Many of the questions that I asked during the interviews focused on the people

with whom the students spent a large amount of their time. When talking with the students, I focused on discussing their relationships with these people because in my college-level study, I had found that such people influenced the students and their perspectives in very specific ways that were important to their identification. Additionally, researchers such as Harter and her colleagues (1992, 1997) have discussed the importance of relational contexts for influencing an individual's identification. Because these people made up part of the context in which the students existed, they acted as agents within the context affecting how the students viewed themselves in relation to the context. The categories of people that students and I discussed included teachers, coaches, family members, friends, and other people. For each student, these different categories of people had affected them in general and in more specific ways, and in so doing, had influenced their identification, and to some extent, motivation processes.

Teachers

In our discussions, I asked the students specifically about their teachers and how they had influenced them. Most of the students talked about both positive and negative experiences that they had had with teachers, and for some students the positives outweighed the negatives, while for others it was vice versa. Only Trina and Kerrie mentioned only positive experiences with teachers. For example, Trina said that she had liked all of her teachers and mentioned her science teacher from the previous year, whom she called "crazy." Kerrie also had enjoyed all of her teachers and felt that they had influenced her "very much," and she felt that both her past and present drama teachers

had been especially influential.

For all of the other students, they had some teachers whom they liked and some they did not like. Some students discussed how they felt about teachers in relation to what they learned. David, for example, talked about a math teacher whom he did not like by saying:

> My fourth grade teacher was, you know, I liked her then because she would just read to us and give us candy and let us go on recess, but then I got to fifth grade and realized that I didn't learn anything, and that created slight problems. I didn't know my multiplication tables until seventh grade.

Greta brought up a similar idea:

> Some of the ones [teachers] that I thought at the time were mean and stuff, they, they're the ones that have actually helped me, like, now. But, I don't know, some of the other ones that, like, are cool and stuff, I don't learn anything.

In addition, Irene expressed a negative view of her algebra teacher because as she saw it:

> Ms. Marks, I feel that she wasn't required to teach me algebra. Like, I still, I mean, it's not like I want to learn algebra or anything, but I don't feel like I learned anything in algebra this year… Ms. Marks wasn't required to teach second grade math, I don't think. She really wasn't that great of a teacher… Plus I, you know, could just talk to people and she doesn't really know that I'm talking to them…but I probably would sit with my back towards her just so I wouldn't have to, you know, draw during class.

However, she liked several of her English teachers, whom she described as teaching lots of interesting material and caring about her personally:

> I had a really good English teacher last year. Not only did she teach me, like, a lot of stuff that was really interesting to, you know, I always liked studying about different historical…and it was like we studied the Holocaust and I really liked that…but she also, I had some emotional trouble last year, and she brought that to my parents' attention because they had no idea what was going on.

Like Irene, other students talked about how teachers treated them personally. As an example, Freddy talked about liking teachers who were also "friends" and "help [him]

to get through the life of high school." He described one of them by saying, "I'd go to her every, all the time, every day after school and talk to her." David discussed one teacher whom he felt "understood where [he] was coming from," and Sara described a past teacher with whom she had a "good relationship" and could talk. Several of the students discussed more negative personal experiences with teachers and how these had affected them. Steven, for example, talked about several teachers whom he felt, "just didn't like [him]." In addition, he felt that many of his past and present teachers discriminated against him because he was Latino. Similarly, Freddy, whose family was from Guatemala, described an experience with one of his teachers treating him badly because of his ethnic background:

> They [teachers] were mean. They said I didn't know English. They'd try to hate on me, you know, they'd like, "You don't know English. You don't even know Spanish, so what language do you know?" They were just haters.

Another student, Kyle, discussed teachers whom he did not like because they were "not understanding, blaming me for stuff I didn't even do," and focused on one teacher in particular, his freshman English teacher from the first semester, whose class he and his parents had moved him out of for the second semester. As Kyle saw it, this teacher had lied to his parents about his behavior in class and he had failed this class because, "if I have a teacher I don't like, then usually I won't pass their class."

Many of the students talked about teachers more generally, using phrases like, "They've been good. None of them have actually been, like, real mean to me…" (Greta), and, "Some of my teachers, they was kind of cocky, and I didn't flavor with them or nothing" (Charles). For most of the students, a teacher's being nice or mean was at least

one of the criteria for students' liking or disliking them. Students viewed teachers who came to know them personally more positively than any other type of teacher, and they viewed teachers who had treated them or other students unfairly more negatively than any other type of teacher.

Coaches

Of course, the only students who talked about their coaches were the athletes, and for the most part, they talked about them positively. Kyle said that his coaches "keep me out of trouble," and Sara felt that her past coaches had taught her how to "stay out of trouble." Three other athletes, Alex, Jessica, and Greta, believed that their coaches had influenced them more than teachers. As Alex put it:

> Because the teachers, have always not, some of my teachers weren't, like, about athletics at all, and some of them were, and then coaches just want you to do your best and stuff so that you can keep playing and stuff. So, they care, like, about a lot of their players…how well they do in school and life, and stuff.

Similarly, Greta said, "They [coaches] more know what's going on than, like, teachers do. And they…I've figured, like, if I had to look up to teachers or, like, coaches more, I look up to coaches more than teachers**.**"

Some of the athletes also discussed negative experiences with coaches, such as being too "strict" (Jessica) or "a hypocrite" (Irene), but for the most part, the athletes talked of positive experiences with their coaches. For several of the athletes, Jessica, Sara, Kyle, and Alex, these positive experiences carried over into their academics. For example, Jessica and Sara talked about having study hall during the first part of their basketball practice and their coaches connecting playing basketball to learning math or vocabulary. Similarly, Alex and Kyle discussed their coaches' interest in their academics

and making sure that their players did well academically. Kyle provided this perspective of his coaches' role in his academics, "[Coaches] make sure I get my schoolwork done, or at least that we pass…so that we can keep playing."

Family

During the initial interview, I asked each of the students about their families and how they had influenced them, and, perhaps not surprisingly, they all talked about their family being influential to some extent. Some of the students (Alex, Kerrie, and Sara) went into a very brief description of their relationship with their parents and their one older sibling (except Sara, who was an only child). Kerrie did not view her parents as much of an influence, while Alex and Sara, both of whom played sports, talked about their parents "pushing" them in their academics more than their athletics. In fact, Sara told me that both of her parents were currently in college. In addition, Alex said, "More academics because they [parents], like in, they make me see how much I need to make good grades so I can actually play sports, and stuff." The rest of the students, on the other hand, talked quite a bit about their relationships with different family members and their influence on them.

Four of the students, Steven, David, Irene, and Greta, discussed how influential their mothers had been in their lives. David, for example, said, "She's [mother's] pretty much taught me everything I know," and Irene described she and her mother's relationship by saying, "We talk about different stuff, and how she can kind of relate. She can relate to a lot of the stuff I'm going through," and added later, "She tried, and she always, she was supporting me because she thought I liked it [playing sports] and

enjoyed it, and that was basically the reason she went along with it." Both David and Greta mentioned that their mothers had been "strict on grades" (David); however, Greta said that her mother had become more "lenient" now that she was in high school. Irene and Steven, on the other hand, focused more on their personal relationships with their mothers and did not even mention their mothers' perspectives on school or academics. All of these students, other than Greta, also had difficult relationships with their fathers. Steven's father had left his family when he was very young; David's parents were divorced, and he had chosen to stop living with his father and move in with his mother a year and a half earlier; and Irene had been going to counseling because of problems she and her father had been having.

In contrast to these four students, Freddy and Charles felt that their fathers influenced them more than anyone else. No matter what subject Charles and I discussed, he always brought up the importance of his father's influence. Some of this focus on his father's influence stemmed from two other events – Charles' mother dying a year earlier and his older brother going to jail. Whatever the reasons, Charles appreciated his father's support and agreed with his "plan" for his son – doing well in school and playing football. Freddy also felt that his father influenced him more than any one else, but rather than focusing on his effect on him in academics or athletics, Freddy talked about his father's hard work, "My dad because he's just very hard-working. He's, like, stayed very hard-working to, like, support us in this, this, and that and get us through everything."

Rather than focusing on their parents' influence, three other students, Kyle, Jessica, and Trina, discussed siblings and other family members as significantly affecting

them. Kyle and Jessica, both of whom were athletes, talked about their older brothers, who also had both been high school athletes. In relation to his older brother, Kyle said, "Me and him are about just exactly alike. I mean, we're both big football stars," and he added, "And, I guess, he even tries to improve me, and he helps me with my weightlifting and stuff because he's been there, and all that stuff." Jessica, on the other hand, focused on how she "looks up to older brother because he's athlete but smart athlete" and said that when she needed help with her homework, she would go to him. Trina's family situation was somewhat different than the other students in that she lived with her father's parents despite the fact that her parents lived in the same town. For her, both her grandparents and her younger sister, whom Trina believed to be "really smart" and "loves school," were much more significant than either her brother, who, Trina said, "could care less" about school, or her parents, who had dropped out of high school and whom she only saw on the weekends.

Friends

During the initial and final interview, I also asked all of the students about their relationships with their friends and where they fit in at Robertson High School. Some students focused on their best friends, some talked about having friends in many different areas, and some discussed both kinds of friends. Also, especially at the end of the study, some students brought up boyfriends or girlfriends they had begun to date.

Each student who talked about having a best friend described this friend as being very similar to themselves. For example, Sara's best friend was an only child who played basketball; Irene's best friend played golf and was in the band; and David's best friend

liked to talk about science and technology and had similar interests as he did. Similarly, those students with girlfriends or boyfriends (Steven, Greta, and Freddy) talked about all that they had in common. To demonstrate, Freddy's girlfriend was in Upward Bound with him, and Greta's boyfriend played on the boys' varsity soccer team, and as Steven described his previous girlfriend, "Everybody says that we're complete opposites, but if we really think about it, we're the same."

Besides talking about specific friends or girlfriends/boyfriends, almost all of the students (except for David) talked about having many different friends with whom they "hung out" quite a bit. Trina talked about hanging out with friends who were good students, while Irene and Kerrie discussed hanging out with "everyone" (Kerrie). Freddy and Steven, on the other hand, discussed belonging to "no group" (Freddy) and having "a lot of friends" (Steven). Greta and Sara also talked about having different groups of friends, but they also focused specifically on having friends who were athletes. Similarly, Charles, Kyle, Alex, and Jessica focused almost completely on having friends who were athletes. (In fact, in my observations, Greta, Alex, and Kyle ate lunch together most of the time and hung out with the same group of friends, while Sara and Jessica were together quite often.)

Additionally, while all of the students discussed the similar interests that they and their friends shared, some of the students viewed the relationships between themselves and their friends in some different ways. Trina felt that her friends provided support academically when she was struggling, and Greta also discussed how she and her best friend helped each other with their schoolwork. Kyle and Charles, on the other hand,

talked some about playing sports and working out with their friends. As opposed to these more positive experiences with friends, three students, Steven, Freddy, and Charles, also brought up what might be considered more negative influences from friends. All three of these students discussed friends who either skipped class, had dropped out of high school, or tried to get out of doing schoolwork.

Other People

For a few of the students, other people had been influential. For example, Freddy's perspective on academics had been affected to some extent by the Upward Bound program at his school. As he told me in our first interview, "Upward Bound makes me be good in school, or I'd get kicked out," and then said later, "Upward Bound's, like, really important to me. You know, it helped me out a lot. I learned a lot of things in the past summer, and I really liked it a lot." Two student-athletes, Alex and Jessica, discussed how some professional athletes had influenced them, "Some stuff on TV, like, things, like, certain athletes accomplish, like, on TV and stuff. It just kind of motivates you a little more to get how far they go and stuff" (Alex). For Jessica, a specific athlete, Kobe Bryant, had been her biggest influence, "Kobe Bryant. I just, like, I listen to everything that he says," and said she looked up to him because of his "desire to succeed." She continued later:

> And, like, I used to, like, he came straight out of high school and went to the [NBA]. I used to want to do that, but then I thought about it for a while, or if I get hurt …if I get hurt, then I might not be able to come back.

Another student, David, who participated in the school's ROTC program, felt that many of the officers in that program had changed his perspectives in some ways:

> Chief Haft, our aerospace science instructor, he's been kind of an influence

> because he's kind of brought me down to earth, you know. I've always thought of the military as an uptight, ten-hut, always looking around, making sure nobody's looking at you funny, and he's kind of, you know, made me realize that it's not as uptight, it's not as difficult, it's not as stressful, you know, it's just like a regular job.

One other student, Steven, talked about other people in general, his perspectives of them, and their views of him. Much of Steven's discussion demonstrated negative viewpoints of others, specifically focused on other people's racist behaviors and attitudes. For example, during our initial interview, he said, "People that tell me that [I'm stupid], I don't really take it because I know I'm not," and later he told me a story about he and an African-American girl getting into an argument:

> Like last year, this Black girl told me, "Oh, go back to Mexico where you came from, and I was like, "Did you know that most Hispanic people were already here by the time you got here? You're actually…not that…so back off or something." And they took me, they took it, when I said go back to Africa, just, she said, go back to Mexico, and when…I said that, they took it as racial, but they didn't when she told me, they didn't take it as a racial slur. I don't know, but they didn't, they were going to suspend me, but I was like, "Go ahead suspend me." And, you know, I was like… "If you suspend me, I'm going to take you all to court because y'all are being racist to me."

It was clear that many of these negative experiences and interactions with other people had affected Steven's perspectives of himself, school, and society in general.

Grades

In the academic domain, grades act as the measuring stick for students to compare themselves with other students' success and their own past successes within the context of school. As such, not only do grades provide an external incentive (i.e., looking good) for working hard in school, but they also inform students about where they fit into the context of school, specifically in academics. For the athletic domain, passing grades are a

requirement for student-athletes to continue playing their sports. All of the students talked about their grades and how important these were to them. The difference, however, among the students was in how they viewed grades. Some of them simply wanted to pass their classes, while others discussed their grades as being important to defining their level of success. In either case, the students' discussions of grades and passing provided insight into how they viewed themselves not only in academics but also in school in general.

Passing

For half of the students (Trina, Greta, Kyle, Freddy, Charles, and Steven), passing their classes was their main academic objective. Greta, Kyle, and Charles needed to pass their classes in order to play their sports, while Freddy's participation in Upward Bound depended on passing grades in his classes. As Charles told me:

> When I first started playing, I liked it. And then, as I started playing I liked it. Then, when I got in middle school, they said in order for you to play football, you have to pass your classes, so that's influenced, like, if I have to, if I want to play football, I have to pass my classes.

In contrast, Steven and Trina talked about passing their classes simply so that they could eventually graduate from high school. Two other students, Jessica and Irene, also talked to some extent about simply trying to pass one of their classes. For Jessica, this class was English, "I had to [focus] this year because English was hard, and if you didn't, then you failed, and I was on the borderline of failing." For Irene, it was algebra, "I took it [algebra] last year, and, I got below an 80 twice, so you have to take it again."

As a Measure of Success

Making good grades in order to be successful or be seen as successful was important to the other half of the students (David, Alex, Sara, Kerrie, Jessica, and Irene),

and to Charles and Greta, also to some extent. Both Charles and Greta talked about making good grades in order to meet their parents' expectations. As Charles said, "And academics, like, if I get a report card, and they got 70s all down the line then, I mean, I wouldn't go for that. I mean, I wouldn't even like to show my dad that." And Greta stated it like this, "It's like, because my grades aren't nearly…It's because, like, my mom, because, like, my first C was at high school or whatever, and so she expected me to make all As and Bs." Similarly, Jessica talked about making good grades so that she could show them to her coaches, "We run, if we don't get good grades, if we get a bad report, so it's like you have to be good in school…"

The rest of the students wanted good grades because achieving them felt good or allowed them to see themselves as successful. As Irene said, "I feel that I really, that grades are really important to myself because that's what I really want to do," and David told me, "I never want to just pass my classes. I feel kind of disappointed when I…just pass my classes, so I've always really tried hard, and I have to say, it's kind of come easy to me." When I asked Alex why he thought he was successful academically, he made the comment, "Because I've always made As in school." Sara felt that any time she made below a B, it meant that she had "slack[ed] off**,**" and she "always expect[s] to see, like, As and Bs or straight As." The other student, Kerrie, seemed to contradict herself somewhat because, although she demonstrated low academic identification on the quantitative measures, she talked quite a bit about how important good grades were to her. For example, in our initial interview, she stated, "Not really [any goals] related to class because I really, I've wanted to be an actress for a while, and I mean, it doesn't

really matter to me," but then changed this statement quickly to, "I mean it does…Class matters, and I want a good grade." She then went on to say:

> It [doing well academically] didn't used to be [important], but now I'm starting to think about college, and I know it's three years away, but I need to make good grades so I can get into a good college.

And she admitted later, "If I ever got a low grade, I'd just, I would be mad at myself."

Reasons for Success

All of the students except for one (Steven) felt that they were successful to some extent in school, and all of the student-athletes also believed they were successful in their sports. Students focused on different reasons, however, for this success, being smart or naturally talented and/or working hard. Although many of the students discussed both of these causes as contributing to their success, some students focused on one or the other more in one or both of the domains, while others felt that they both contributed evenly to their success. In discussing these different attributions, which I also asked them about directly, the students provided insight into aspects of their motivation that echoed what Weiner (1986) has focused on in his research.

Being Smart/Talented

Six students, Trina, Greta, Steven, Luke, Jessica, and Charles, conveyed negative feelings about their academic abilities. To demonstrate, when I asked Trina about her performance in academics, she explained, "I have had trouble since sixth grade on up because…I guess the work's, like, harder or something," and in response to my question about whether she was smart or did she work hard, she said, "working hard" and laughed a little. Greta described herself as "little average for most people my age," and explained

her experiences in algebra as follows, "…some of my problem, like, in algebra, if everyone gets it, I don't get it, and if, like, I get it, no one else gets it." Both Steven and Kyle discussed "hav[ing] trouble learning" (Steven) and "haven't really get any of algebra I this year" (Kyle). In somewhat of a contrast to these four students, Jessica and Charles both contrasted their academic ability with their talent in sports, and rather than saying that they were not academically talented, they each said, "I think basketball is ability. You're born with the ability. School's studying" (Jessica), and "[better in] football" (Charles). Other students, David, Sara, Irene, Alex, and Kerrie, talked about their success in academics often in terms such as, "I always knew all the answers" (Kerrie), "I can catch on pretty quick" (Alex), and "It's kind of come easy to me" (David), demonstrating their belief in their ability to do well academically.

In athletics, natural talent and ability were also often discussed. Three students, Steven and Kerrie, neither of whom played sports, and Irene, who had dropped all of her previous sports and only played golf, never actually stated their views of their abilities in athletics. Two other students, Trina and David, focused on their lack of talent in sports and did not participate in athletics despite their parents' or grandparents' attempts to get them athletically involved. Four students, Greta, Kyle, Charles, and Jessica, who were also athletes, focused solely on their athletic talent. As Kyle expressed it, "I don't know if I'd be playing sports if I wasn't that good." The other three students, Freddy, Alex, and Sara, who also played sports (either in or out of school), discussed their athletic success in terms of both talent and hard work. For example, Sara expressed this idea as, "I guess, I had a talent that I developed into so, I guess it could be both," and Freddy stated:

I think it's a little of both. Be like, when I was found, before I was even in the

> motion, I knew how to fight. He [his coach] said I knew how to fight. He said I could have took down a grown man if he tried to hurt me.

Working Hard

All of the students, except Steven, talked about working hard in academics, and this was especially true for Greta, Kyle, Trina, Jessica, and Charles, all of whom did not believe they were very able in academics (at least compared to their athletic talent for Jessica and Charles), and Freddy, who did not mention whether he was or was not academically talented. In fact, Trina and Jessica credited any academic success only to studying, working hard, and trying. And, although Greta, Kyle, and Charles all felt that they had some specific academic abilities (e.g., "I have this ability to remember dates and names and places and stuff" [Kyle]), they all also felt that they needed to work harder and study more in order to be more successful in school. Freddy only talked about doing his work and not skipping in order to be successful academically. For the other students, who felt that they did have academic ability, working hard, putting more effort into their work, and not being "lazy" (Sara) also came up as important to their being successful, but they mainly focused on participating in these activities either in classes in which they did not feel as able or at specific times when they were struggling.

As can be seen in the previous category, when it came to being athletically successful, most of the students focused on natural talent and ability over hard work. The few students (Freddy, Sara, and Alex) who did discuss hard work in relation to their athletic success placed more emphasis on their effort being combined with their natural ability in order to lead to their achievement in sports. For example, Alex talked about his parents' athletic ability in relation to his own ability and hard work:

> I think both because both my parents are pretty athletic when they were in high school and stuff like that, and then, I guess, since I just kept working hard and stuff at it, I've been able to keep my abilities and getting better and stuff.

In other words, according to these students, just trying hard in sports was not enough to result in athletic success; having some talent in sports was a necessity in order to be considered athletically successful.

Different Forms of Motivation

The first phase of this study measured students' different types of academic and athletic motivation quantitatively, and in this second part of the study, students often made statements that could relate to different types of motivation. Although many of them did not use terms like "internally" and "externally" to describe their motivation, they did use terms such as "have to," "want to," "enjoy," "hate," and "important" to describe their academic and athletic experiences. In doing so, these students presented their perspectives of the types of motivation that influenced their performance and behavior in the two domains. The categories within this theme refer to the different forms of academic and athletic motivation that were investigated in the first phase of this study: wanting to learn/loving my sport (intrinsic), school/playing my sport is important (identified), having to/outside rewards (introjected/external), and zero motivation (amotivated).

Wanting to Learn/Loving My Sport

Although most of the students did not discuss more intrinsic reasons for participating in academics (e.g., wanting to learn, learning is fun), a few students did mention at least some aspects of academics and learning that they enjoyed. Steven, for

example, talked about how much he liked to read and both Irene and David expressed a love for history and reading. As David told me, "I love English. I love the arts, reading, social studies, anything to do with history. I love that." And Irene said, "I started liking English a whole bunch more and started wanting to become a writer…I liked English a lot and history and just reading about stuff and writing." Both Irene and David also discussed "wanting to learn" and how frustrated they became when either a class did not allow them to learn the material (Irene) or when other students did not want to learn (David). Trina also expressed a love for school and learning, but she did not go into any specific areas that she especially enjoyed.

Unlike the academic domain, in which very few students enjoyed participating or intrinsically wanted to perform, all of the students who expressed some motivation for playing sports discussed intrinsic reasons for playing. A majority of the students (Greta, Jessica, Sara, Kerrie, Alex, Charles, and Freddy) discussed how much they "liked" and/or "loved" sports and also mentioned that they were "fun" to play. Greta said it this way, "I just love the sport," and then continued, "If I don't play soccer, I'm not me," and Charles, a football player, told me, "Defense is my main love. I love defense." Both Alex and Jessica talked about how "fun" their sports were, while Sara and Kerrie mentioned that they "like playing in the game" (Sara) and "like to play sports" (Kerrie). Kyle, Irene, and Freddy, on the other hand, did not say directly that they had intrinsic reasons for playing their sports, but they did mention playing their sports outside of school, even when they were not required to practice. As Kyle told me, "My friends are all sports…we hang around a lot and throw the ball. We're always kind of trying to play some kind of sports."

Both Irene and Kerrie also contrasted their intrinsic motivation with many other students' more external reasons for playing:

> (Irene) You know, I still enjoy them [sports], but I'd rather be taken more seriously, and I wasn't being taken seriously as an athlete…It [golf] was a sport not a lot of people expected me to take.
>
> (Kerrie) I like to play sports, but I don't like how important they make it in school. They make it too big of a deal, when grades are what really matter.

School/Playing My Sport Is Important

Half of the students (Irene, Sara, Freddy, Desmond, Alex, Kerrie) expressed the idea that going to school and/or earning good grades were important. Although Irene had talked about intrinsic reasons for wanting to be successful in academics, she also discussed the importance of getting good grades:

> I want to get into a good school that I can, you know, practice music and want to practice law, so I feel that I really, that grades are really important to myself because that's what I really want to do, and so I can make lots of money. And so I do feel internally that grades are really important.

Sara was fairly pragmatic in how she discussed her academics and only talked about being successful in school in order to get into college and make money, indicating reasons that I interpreted as representing more identified regulation for doing well academically. In fact, she expressed her feelings toward school by saying, "Sometimes I hate to come to school, but…I just come anyway."

The other four students also brought up how important school and making good grades were to them and connected these more internal reasons with extrinsic reasons for wanting to do well in school. For example, both Charles and Freddy felt that making good grades were important because other people (i.e., Charles's father, Freddy's

Upward Bound supervisors) also felt academic success was important. As Charles put it:

> I mean, and academics, like, if I get a report card, and they got 70s all down the line, then, I mean, I wouldn't go for that. I mean, I wouldn't even like to show my dad that. Just because I'm passing that don't mean nothing.

The other two students, Alex and Kerrie, talked about the importance of doing well in school and sometimes related this importance to their extracurricular activities (i.e., sports, drama). For example, during our first interview, Alex said:

> Sometimes you just can't always get into college for sports, and sometimes they look at your grades a lot too, and so I'm trying to keep my grades up like that so I can get into a good college like that.

Similarly, Kerrie told me, "It [doing well in academics] didn't used to be [important], but now I'm starting to think about college, and I know it's three years away, but I need to make good grades so I can get into a good college."

Some of the students who played sports for intrinsic reasons also played for more external reasons. All five of these students were athletes for the school, Alex, Sara, Greta, Charles, and Kyle. None of these students directly said, "Playing sports is important;" however, they all talked about aspects of the game that they felt were important or that could lead to more extrinsic benefits. For example, Alex and Sara talked about how important winning was to them, "Now, I like that we had a good season," (Sara) and, "I like to win and stuff, so…you know, I'll try to do anything I can do to win" (Alex). Similarly, four students, Alex, Greta, Charles, and Kyle, discussed how they wanted to be as good or better than anyone else at their sports. For instance, Greta told me, "I'm real competitive and, like, if someone, like, if we do a drill, and someone's better than me at it, I get so frustrated," and Charles said, "To me, when it comes to football, I can do

anything that somebody else can do, and if I don't do it, then I'll come back a week later and try it again until I get it." Kyle put it as follows, "Trying to be somebody. Trying to prove that you're better than they are."

Having to/Outside Rewards

As discussed in the last section, a few students combined identified academic motivation with more extrinsic forms of motivation to describe their reasons for wanting to do well in school. Freddy and Charles both focused on other people wanting them to achieve academically, and they translated these other persons' perspectives of academic success into their own perspectives. In achieving academic success and thus meeting the goals that someone else had set for them, then, both of these students felt better about themselves while also pleasing these other people. Alex and Kerrie also discussed more internal academic motivation in relationship to more extrinsic academic motivation; however, the introjected/external motivation that these students talked about related to their being allowed to continue participating in their extracurricular activities:

> If I don't do well, because, like, if you don't, if you fail, you can't perform in the play, so I keep my grades up to make sure I can do it. (Kerrie)

> School was a pretty big deal then because you, like, you know, you, like, have to pass your classes and stuff to play, and so, that was a pretty big deal to me right there. (Alex)

Two students (Greta and Jessica) expressed their views of school in terms that demonstrated only external motivation. As Greta stated, "If I had to choose, I would not go to school," and then continued later, "I just like, if I didn't, like, if you're guaranteed a good life after school, there's, I wouldn't go to school. I don't…uuhh… annoying." She also said:

> …I think it's easier for me to be in sports and, like, go to school because it, like, motivates me because if my mom, like, if I, because I've played select soccer for a real long time, so if I didn't pass, she wouldn't let me play. And the same with, like, high school, of course, you don't pass, you don't play.

For Jessica, everything she described about school was a "have to," such as:

> Getting in trouble is pretty embarrassing in front of everybody, so you want to do it so you don't have to be yelled at. Let's see, then you, if you don't do it, then you get yelled at and not only do you get yelled at, you get a zero, you fail, and you still have to run, and then you still end up having to do the homework, so why not do it instead of just waiting and having to go through all that trouble to make you do it.

She also contrasted it with playing basketball, "You don't have to have basketball, but you have to go to school, but basketball, it just makes it funner."

In relation to athletics, none of the students talked about having to play, but some of them did mention more extrinsic reasons for playing their sports (e.g., making money, other people thinking it was important). Both Jessica and Alex mentioned how other people thought that playing sports was important. As Jessica said:

> I don't want to be, like, just a normal person walking through the halls like, "ooh, she's just, like, one of the geeky students that people see walking through," and they're like, "ooh, she's not…" And pretty much, when you play basketball here, or if you play any sport at this school, you, people know who you are.

And Alex told me, "It's always, like, a big deal to make the team here for a lot of guys." Also Alex and Jessica, along with Kyle and Freddy, discussed making money at their sports by playing professionally.

Zero Motivation

Two students (Kyle and Steven) demonstrated amotivation in academics. Rather than creating or finding some source of academic motivation for himself, Kyle relied on his coaches' motivation for him to continue playing sports as his reason for at least trying

to pass his classes, "[Coaches] make sure I get my schoolwork done, or at least that we pass, so…so that we can keep playing," and he told me, "There's about zero motivation in academics." Although Steven talked about enjoying reading and thinking that "school really matters," he also said, "I could do work and all, but I don't," and "I just don't, I don't really, can't get interested in it right now because I think all about everything else except school." For Steven, all of the negative experiences that he had had both in and out of school and that he had seen others experience eclipsed his motivation for academic success, "We can learn more things because we forget things, but that's one, that's the reason I think I can't learn because I keep everything on my mind, everything that's ever happened to me."

Steven, along with Trina and David, also did not discuss any motivation for playing sports. Steven never even talked about sports other than to tell me, "No," when I asked him if he played sports at all. David and Trina both said that either their mother or grandmother had tried to get them involved in sports, and David even admitted to having played several sports when he was younger, but neither of them played sports at the time of the study. David felt that he was "just too big and clumsy," while Trina described herself as "not the sports girl."

Future Plans

Within the motivation literature, some theories have focused on the importance of goals and students' ideas about their future selves for affecting motivation (Anderman et al., 1999; Bandura, 1988). In the interviews, all of the students discussed going to college in the future, but what this meant to the students differed somewhat. Some students also

focused on being successful and having a family and being a parent. The content of these students' goals and plans for the future provided insight into their long-term motivation in academics, athletics, and other areas.

Going to College

Although all of the students discussed going to college, some of them were more certain about meeting this goal than others, and some wanted to do both academics and athletics in college. Five students, David, Freddy, Sara, Irene, and Kerrie, discussed going to college confidently. In fact, Sara planned on getting an academic scholarship, David wanted to attend graduate school afterward, and Irene discussed going to law school upon graduating from college. Kerrie and Freddy also had post-college plans:

> (Kerrie) I definitely know I want to move to California…I'd love to get a hit sit-com, you know. That'd work. But if I don't, even if I don't do acting, I would still want to move to California. I've always wanted to live in California.
>
> (Freddy) [In 5 years]…in school…at the University of Central State. Doing more homework.

Three other students, Alex, Jessica, and Greta, planned on going to college to play their sports. Alex wanted to attend a junior college first to "get my basic studies down" and then go to a larger school to continue playing baseball, while Jessica and Greta each planned on going to a college that had a women's team in their sport (i.e., basketball or soccer) with a good reputation.

The rest of the students also talked about going to college, but in our discussions of the future and being able to attend college, these students were somewhat less confident about meeting this goal. For example, Steven and Trina discussed just graduating from high school as being a goal, and when I asked them if they felt that they

would achieve this goal and then go to college, neither of them felt very certain about their ability to meet either of these goals. I asked Trina whether she felt these were realistic goals that she would be able to achieve, and she answered, "Hopefully," and Steven expressed his perspective of his future by saying:

> Sometimes, not always, not all the time, but, yea, when I was little, I always wanted to go to college. I still do. I want to be a lawyer when I grow up…I want to get a degree, but I don't think I'll really reach there.

And he continued, "I'll either be…in college, doing really something really smart, which I don't think I will sometimes, but I do, or just, be working in construction or something." The other two students, Charles and Kyle, talked some about going to college, but they also mentioned that they might go straight from playing high school sports to playing professionally. Kyle said that he believed he might play baseball or football in college, but he definitely wanted to be "some kind of professional baseball player, football player," and Charles described it as "if something slip or something, then, and I don't show up for college, I'll try to make do with what I got," and then explained further:

> I mean, if I , like, get in football and it takes me too far, and…I was, like, college ain't in my mind right then. Football and if I do this, then I can have this and I can have that, then, I mean, that's something, like, that that'd make me slip and just forget about college…If something like that happened, then that can make me slip…

Being Successful

All of the students, except for Trina, talked about wanting to be successful in one way or another. A majority of the students (David, Freddy, Steven, Irene, Kerrie, Greta, and Jessica) talked about the type of job they wanted to have and how achieving this goal would make them feel successful. For a few of the students, Alex, Charles, and Sara,

making money and being wealthy were important to their success, while another group of students, Alex, Kyle, and Jessica, focused on achieving in the sports to make themselves feel successful. For Steven, being successful also meant helping other people and making the world a better place.

Having a Family

A majority of the students (Alex, Freddy, Kyle, Steven, Kerrie, Sara, and Greta) also discussed wanting to have a family. For example, when I asked them about their goals, Alex listed, "have athletic kids so I can teach them;" Freddy told me, "be a good father and husband;" and Steven said, "be a father." Kyle also mentioned having a "family with kids," while the three girls also listed having a family, getting married, or wanting children as one of their goals.

Relating Identification and Motivation

The purpose of the second phase of this study was to understand better the relationships that had been demonstrated in the first phase. In order to meet this goal, an initial analysis resulted in the categories and themes that have been discussed. I then worked through the data, themes, and sub-categories of the themes, to construct a central phenomenon that represented the relationships among these themes and their categories. Figure 10 represents this central phenomenon and how it relates the two constructs, identification and motivation, that were my focus.

Perceived Sense of Self as Agent

I use the phrase "perceived sense of self as agent" to describe the central phenomenon because not only does this construct relate the themes and categories but it

also relates these data to the quantitative data and other literature that has focused on either identification or motivation. Rather than using terms such as "identity," "self-concept," or "subjectivity," all of which Hagood (2002), Rosenberg (1979), Foucault (1976) and others have used to refer to different processes within the self, I chose to use the more inclusive term "self," a term that integrates all of these processes together. Because this "self," however, is the one that each of the students "perceived" for himself or herself, which can be differentiated from an individual's actual or authentic self, I chose to call the central phenomenon "perceived sense of self." To illustrate further the processes underlying both the identification and motivation processes, I used the phrase "self as agent" to refer both to the sense of agency that Damon and Hart (1988) described as one of the parts of identity and to Ryan and Deci's (2002) sense of "autonomy" and "being the perceived origin or source of one's own behavior" (p. 8).

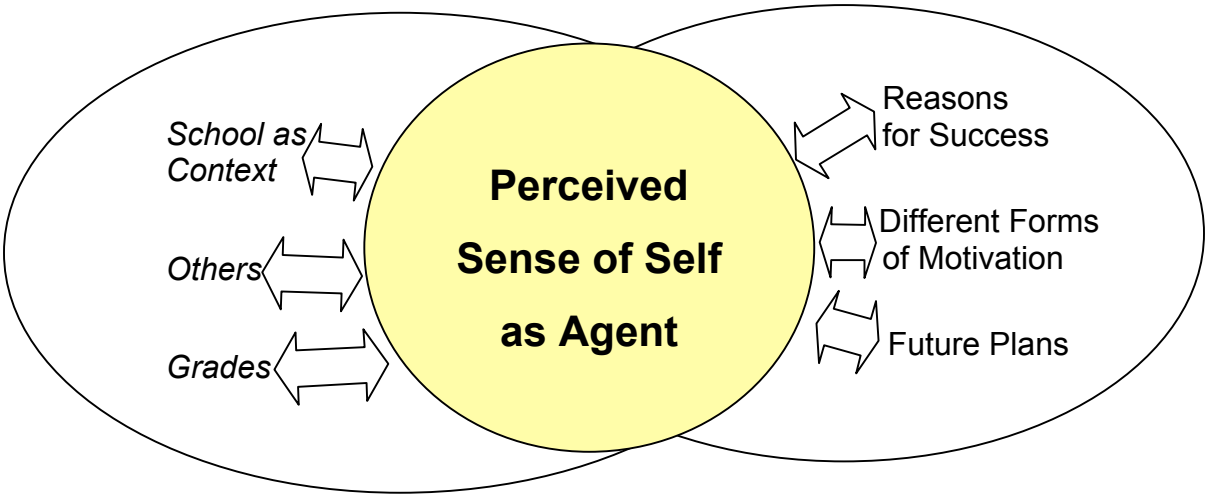

Figure 10. Central Phenomenon: Perceived Sense of Self as Agent.

The central phenomenon, "perceived sense of self as agent," highlights the

integral nature that agency plays within the identity and motivation processes. Theorists and philosophers (e.g., Foucault, 1976) have discussed the importance of feeling power within specific contexts and control over one's behaviors (i.e., agency) within both identity and motivation processes. The individuals in my qualitative analysis demonstrated the underlying meaning that a sense of agency provides to these processes. For these individuals, their perceived sense of self as agent negotiated to a great extent their level of identification with and internal motivation within a given domain. By feeling a sense of agency within a given domain, an individual could believe that he or she had the ability to manipulate and change his or her own behavior and felt empowered and in charge of their performance, which then led to them being more identified with and internally motivated in the domain. On the other hand, when an individual lacked a sense of agency within a domain, he or she also perceived less control over the decisions made and the behavior demonstrated within that domain and began to disengage from feedback within that domain, disidentify from the domain itself, and become less internally motivated in that domain or context.

Relating the Themes to a Perceived Sense of Self as Agent

The central phenomenon, "perceived sense of self as agent," demonstrates the shared core meaning that link the identification and motivation processes and create the large amount of overlap within them (as demonstrated in the quantitative analyses). The context, with its influences on identity, comes together with the different motivation factors as the students live within the context. As well, students grapple with the multiple identities that the context creates for them, identities that shape their experiences as they

attempt to control their own behavior and performance within a given domain. Each theme and its categories play a part in these meaning-making and decision-making processes as a student creates his or her own meaning and chooses who he or she will be and how he or she will act. For each student, the themes interact with one another and influence each other in different ways within this process, and for most of the students, the processes are complicated by the different domains within which they must create meaning, make decisions, and act.

Relating the Model to the Students

The model provides a general picture of what all of the students experienced while negotiating meanings and making decisions about who they were and how they would act within the different domains; however, each student experienced this model in a different way depending on their past experiences with other contexts and the effects these experiences had had on their perspectives of themselves and their motivation. Because the central phenomenon places emphasis on the individual and his/her relative power to control his/her choices and behavior within a domain, I will explain the model further by discussing the individual students' experiences within the framework of the model. In order to illustrate all of the aspects of the model, I will highlight certain features of each student's experience that provide a clear picture of specific relationships within the model. By doing this with each student, I will not only highlight key elements of the students' experiences within the two domains but I will also present a more holistic picture of the model itself.

Alex: I've always made straight As. It's always been a big deal to make the team

here. Alex had accepted the fact that making good grades was important, and he controlled this aspect of his environment by studying hard when necessary to keep his grades up; however, making good grades had also been easy for him, so taking control of this aspect of the school context was also easy for him. By subjectively accepting this feedback on his identity as reality, Alex also created his reason for success, "I've always made As in school," which then fueled his motivation to continue to be successful in academics. His subjective interpretation of his motivation and his ability to control his environment by making good grades then related to how he subjectively viewed teachers and their perspectives of him. In doing so, Alex contrasted himself with other athletes whom teachers allowed to "slide" on grades while he, on the other hand, did not need such help because he was able to make good grades on his own. As he continued to be successful at making good grades, he was, therefore, able to continue to view this aspect as important.

In addition to viewing his academics as important, Alex was a student-athlete who existed in an environment that viewed being an athlete as important. Alex had subjectively accepted how important playing his sport was to him, his friends, and the school in general, and because he felt that he worked hard and had ability in this area, he was also able to control how successful he could be at playing baseball in this type of sports-focused context. Although these perspectives were integrated into his more internalized motivation, Alex also realized that his teammates' and coaches' perspectives of him were important to him, and he accepted their influence on him as important to his success in playing baseball. For Alex, the interplay of all of these factors and his

subjective interpretation of them combined with his intrinsic motivation to play the sport to allow him to choose as a goal playing sports in college and professionally. By setting this goal, Alex had then also created for himself further motivation for doing well while playing in the sports-focused context, which then further supported his goal of being a college-level and professional athlete.

Charles: I like my father's plan. For Charles, the theme of others in context, specifically as it related to his father, was integral to his views of academics and playing sports. Charles had chosen to accept his father's ideas about what he should and should not be doing in these domains and had, therefore, also accepted that making good grades was important to himself (i.e., demonstrating his sense of self as agent), which then fed his motivation for himself. By deciding to follow his father's "plan," Charles took control of his own motivation and behavior by working to meet the goals within this plan. Thus, he created for himself more extrinsic forms of motivation that, although not giving him a total sense of self as agent, gave him some agency within his academic performance and success. By accepting this control and using it to improve his academic performance, he then provided feedback back to the context (his father) and allowed him (the father) to continue to push him (Charles) beyond just passing to play his sport.

Jessica: I have to do academics. Jessica felt very much controlled by her context, including the sports-focused school, her coaches, and her teachers. Even though Jessica was cognizant of the negative influence that the school context had had on some athletes' attitudes toward school, Jessica herself had subjectively rejected, to some extent, the context's emphasis on making good grades as being important but had accepted, to some

extent, its emphasis on doing well at her sport. In this way, she had taken on the very attitude that she had discussed as problematic in other student-athletes and had allowed the environment to create external academic motivation for her. Interestingly, although Jessica realized that other athletes were very much driven by the school context's focus on sports, she did not seem to realize the extent to which she herself was also driven by this context. Perhaps because of her lacking a sense of agency within the environment and her own motivation, she also lacked the sense of self as agent to push back against these environmental influences and to question how it had influenced her own perspectives of her academic motivation.

David: I'm scared of authority but I enjoy understanding. By discussing how much he loved English and history but also was afraid of thwarting authority, David demonstrated the dualistic nature of his academic motivation. In addition, he felt that academic success had always been easy for him. Subjectively accepting all of these different perspectives of himself and his motivation had provided David a sense of agency, to some extent, toward his academic performance and his grades, which then fed back into his perspectives of himself as successful and as following authority. Interestingly, this control over the academic domain had allowed David also to question how important doing well academically was and to contrast himself to other students in the context who seemed to be having more fun than he was. However, when it came down to making academic decisions, David continued to choose to follow the rules and focus on his goals of academic success. These goals then influenced David's sense of his context and where he fit in compared to the other students around him.

Trina: I love school but I only do well because I work hard. Trina felt that she was only successful in school because she worked hard, and in so doing, she had accepted that working hard without having natural ability could allow one to be successful. However, this hard work had only resulted in her making passing grades, which gave Trina a sense that she lacked control over her future plans; therefore, she hoped, and did not know for certain, that her hard work would lead to meeting her goal of graduating from high school. This lack of control over her academic performance and future then fed back into Trina's subjective perspective of her context and how to act within it, so that when Trina was asked to perform in the academic domain, she lacked confidence in her answers and often replied to teachers' questions with "I didn't get that one." Such behaviors then fed into others' perspectives of her, that she then subjectively interpreted to influence her own views of herself and her motivation.

Freddy: Upward Bound has inspired me. Freddy's experiences had been much like Charles's except that instead of his father creating a plan for him, Freddy's Upward Bound supervisors had created a plan for him. Freddy had accepted this plan as important to him; however, he did push back against it for several weeks during my observations and had chosen instead to buy into the culture of skipping class and doing nothing that was officially a part of school. In the end though, Freddy accepted again the program's plan for him, took control of his academic career, and used this sense of agency to "inspire" his motivation and focus on his goals for the future, which then fed into his rejection of the negative school environment in which he had participated.

Irene: I want to be taken seriously. For Irene, a sports-focused context and her

parents originally had pushed her to play sports and be very involved in all sorts of athletic endeavors; however, at the beginning of high school, Irene had chosen to push back against this context and take control of her athletic career and others' perspectives of her by dropping out of all of the sports she had played previously and trying out for the golf team. As she put it, she wanted others to view her more as an academic student and less as an athletic student, and in her opinion, because the school context did not support such perspectives of students who were athletes, she chose to focus more on her academic ability and motivation and less on her athletic ability and motivation. Fortunately for Irene, she felt both academically able and internally motivated to do well in school, so she was able to use these perspectives to help her take control of her athletic and academic career and make such a choice (i.e., to stop playing her sports). Such a decision had then fed back into how she interacted with her context and pushed others to view her as a "serious" student.

Sara: The long-term is what's important. For Sara, doing well academically now meant achieving her long-term goals later. By accepting goals like earning an academic scholarship and being successful in college, Sara had chosen to motivate herself with somewhat more internal goals. This motivation then fed into her working to achieve grades that also fit with her perspective of being successful. Again, fortunately for Sara, she viewed herself as being academically able enough to achieve these grades, which then were integrated back into her perspective of being able to achieve her long-term goals. Sara felt a strong sense of agency toward her academic success and believed that academic success was possible for her if only she was not "lazy."

Kyle: I have zero motivation in academics. I don't think I'd be playing my sports if I wasn't good at them. Rather than being motivated himself in academics, Kyle's coaches were motivated to have him play on their teams, so they pushed him to pass his classes; therefore, Kyle did not even demonstrate external academic motivation, and this was very apparent in my observations of him during class. Adding to this lack of motivation was Kyle's perception of himself as a "not at all able" student. By accepting these motivational influences, Kyle had subjectively accepted himself as a non-student, and this non-student then existed within an environment in which a focus was placed on athletic success; coaches taught many of the classes; and doing nothing for extended periods of time was allowed in class. Kyle accepted this environment, specifically the coaches acting as teachers, as supporting his perceptions of himself and his amotivation in academics, and he continued to act as a non-student by doing nothing in class and attempting to make grades that simply allowed him to play his sports. His subjective acceptance of this context, then gave him a felt sense of agency toward his behavior by allowing him to disengage from academics pretty much altogether.

In contrast to academics, Kyle felt intrinsically motivated in sports and believed that he was extremely capable in playing both football and baseball. Again, these perspectives of himself and his motivation fed into his subjective experience of his context, allowing him more control over this domain. By feeling agentic and able to make decisions in athletics, Kyle did not seem to mind the lack of control in the academic domain that he felt. Agency in one domain thus replaced agency in another domain and fueled the decisions that he made in both. This sense of self as agent within the

environment then fed back into the motivational processes he experienced and came together to help generate his goals for the future, which all centered around his athletic career. Similar to Alex, these athletic goals then fed back into his subjective experience of the environment and affected his relationships with the context and others in it.

Greta: School is a means-to-an-end. If I'm not playing soccer, I'm not me. Greta was almost solely driven by external motivation in academics (e.g., passing to play, her mother's expectations), and she only viewed herself as "average" in academic ability; on the other hand, she was driven by intrinsic motivation in athletics and believed that she was extremely capable in this domain. The combination of these attitudes came together to create Greta's subjective experience of school and sports, and her lack of a sense of agency in academics combined with her greater sense of agency in her sport allowed her to accept her context with its focus on sports, coaches as teachers, students skipping, and teachers and students doing nothing. This perspective of her environment was then integrated back into her subjective acceptance of where she fit into the context and how this context then acted to influence her motivation.

Steven: Sometimes I think I might be doing something smart but probably not. Many of Steven's negative experiences with environments similar to the one described in this study had led him to view himself as less academically able and less in control of his academic career. This subjective experience fueled Steven's interactions with others in his environment, and he attempted to take control of these relationships, in which he often felt disliked and viewed in a negative way, by disliking these people and disengaging from any relationship with them. Not only had this happened, to some

extent, with people in his family, but it had also happened often with teachers and other people in general. All of these subjective experiences and relationships with the context and people in it had caused him to disengage almost completely from working to be successful in ways that this context and these people viewed as important. This disengagement fed into his lack of academic (and athletic) motivation and fueled behaviors that could only lead to more negative experiences with his environment. In addition, these subjective experiences provided Steven with little opportunity to change his perceptions of his academic ability and caused him to feel little sense of agency over his future, thereby, perpetuating the negative spiral that his academic motivation and identification continued to follow.

Kerrie: Grades are what's important. I've always enjoyed entertaining people. Good grades had always been important to Kerrie, and she had always had an easy time achieving them; therefore, she felt engaged with school and academics. In middle school, however, she had decided that focusing just on making good grades was not a good idea, and so she chose to begin participating in her school's drama program. Rather than sticking with simply making good grades then, Kerrie took control of her academic and theater careers and decided to place more emphasis on the latter. Fortunately for Kerrie, she felt capable enough in both domains to achieve success in both at the same time, and her subjective experience allowed her to focus on making good grades while also being somewhat more internally motivated in academics. Her sense of agency within the academic domain fueled her achieving the grades that she believed were important, which fed back into her subjective experience of the environment and allowed her to

continue to be more internally motivated.

Summary of the Model

Although each of the students in this study experienced the model in different ways, the themes and central phenomenon were clearly relevant to each of the students and how they defined and viewed their motivation and identification. As can be seen in the discussions of each student's experiences within the model, a perceived sense of self as agent acted not only to help the students feel more motivated (and more identified) within the specific domains but also to allow them to accept or reject certain aspects of the environment that then acted to influence their identification (and motivation). In this way, this construct, with its shared meaning for students motivation and identification, acted as an important underlying process for motivation and identification that explained much of the overlap between these two constructs. Through the process of perceived sense of self as agent, students made meaning of how they were motivated and who they were in relationship to their context, which, in turn, pressed them to be motivated and see themselves in certain ways. All of these processes and relationships, thus, formed as students negotiated their motivation and identities to create their behavior, another process that then fed back into the negotiations to continue movement within these processes.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

As adolescents work to negotiate meaning in different contexts through motivation and identity processes, the subprocesses of control, agency, and power shape students' experiences with and perceptions of the internalization and identification processes. All of these processes and subprocesses have been examined and discussed in the previous chapters; therefore, in this section, I begin by providing a more general discussion of the findings and what they mean. In this way, I bring together all of the data to discuss some of the big ideas revealed in the analyses. Following this general discussion is the limitations section followed by implications for future research and for practice.

General Discussion

In the first section, I discuss four more general themes that take into consideration all of the results of this study. These themes include: a) extrinsic versus intrinsic motivation; b) identity and motivation; c) perceived competence; d) perceived sense of self as agent; and e) relating athletics and academics.

Extrinsic Versus Intrinsic Motivation

In their research during the 1970s, Deci and others focused on examining the detrimental effects that extrinsic rewards can have on intrinsic motivation (Deci, 1971; Lepper, Greene, & Nisbett, 1973). Deci's findings then led him to portray extrinsic regulation as existing on a continuum rather than as part of a dichotomy in which it was juxtaposed with intrinsic motivation. This theory, then, implies that an individual could not be both externally motivated (i.e., the furthest end of the extrinsic continuum) and

intrinsically motivated. However, my results complicate this theory to some extent in that, although in the academic domain intrinsic and external motivation were not significantly correlated for the whole group, these two forms of motivation did demonstrate a positive relationship, indicating that the greater a student's external motivation, the greater their intrinsic motivation and vice versa. In addition, a strong positive relationship was demonstrated between these two forms of motivation in the athletic domain. According to Deci and others' research, greater extrinsic regulation relates to lesser intrinsic motivation; therefore, a negative correlation should exist between intrinsic and external motivation, no matter what the domain. My findings, then, support Eisenberger and Cameron's (1996) view of the relationship between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation being more complicated than Deci and others have suggested. Further investigation of the relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in academics and other domains is warranted to understand better how these constructs relate to and influence one another.

Comparing the different forms of motivation in each domain, intrinsic motivation was the lowest form of academic motivation while it was the highest form of athletic motivation, and identified motivation was the highest form of academic motivation while it was the second highest form of athletic motivation. The lack of intrinsic motivation in academics in contrast to the abundance of intrinsic motivation in athletics was also demonstrated by the qualitative results, in which even students who discussed more intrinsic reasons for participating in specific academic areas also brought up many extrinsic reasons for participating in other academic areas.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Koestner and Losier (2002) discussed the relationships between these types of motivation (intrinsic and identified) in differing domains such as academics and athletics. In their studies, these researchers had found that identified motivation was actually more adaptive for participating in academics because of the more long-term goals that students are expected to set and the often less interesting activities in which they are expected to participate. By internalizing these expectations then, students become more identified with academics, which relates not only to Self-Determination Theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000, 2002) but also to expectancy-value theory (Eccles, 1983) and Stangor and Sechrist's (1998) theories about the influence of expectations on identification processes. Koestner and Losier (2002) lamented the lack of intrinsic motivation in the academic domain and discussed the importance of educational institutions attempting to cultivate such internal motivation for academics.

On the other hand, in athletics, a domain in which intrinsic motivation is much more frequently encountered, students may need to cultivate more identified motivation in order to sustain their performances in those aspects that are less intrinsically motivating such as practices and workouts (Koestner & Losier, 2002). My results show, however, that students seem to demonstrate the levels of intrinsic *and* identified athletic motivation that are optimal for positively experiencing the athletic domain, while they do not demonstrate the levels of identified and intrinsic academic motivation that are considered optimal for similarly experiencing the academic domain. As my qualitative results show, the students who participated in sports felt much more internally driven to play sports, and this motivation was cultivated by their enjoyment of and control over

participating in such sports. By control, I am referring to these students being allowed not only to choose whether they participate in sports but also to pick which sport they play. Many of them also felt closer to their coaches and believed that coaches knew them better as a person than did their teachers. Such involvement with youths that is promoted much more often within the coach-player relationship than in the teacher-student relationship has also been addressed by authors such as Butt (1976), Adler and Adler (1991), and Woodruff (2002). Perhaps it is these kinds of relationships that help to cultivate a balance within the agentic processes that underlie identity and motivation (i.e., a student-athlete feels pushed by their coaches to act a certain way but also feels free to push back against this identity and to take control of his or her actions). Within the academic domain, educators might benefit from examining such relationships in the athletic domain as well as examining the agency that these students feel within the athletic domain in order to inform their academic relationships and practices.

Related to these findings and my recommendations stemming from them is the finding that the two forms of academic motivation that were most highly related for seventh and ninth graders were identified and introjected regulation, while in athletics, intrinsic motivation and identified regulation were most highly related. It was only in the twelfth grade that students demonstrated this same relationship, intrinsic motivation and identified regulation being most strongly related, in academics also. Again, these findings may point to the degree to which students feel controlled in academics, while in athletics, students may feel somewhat controlled (i.e., demonstrating identified regulation), but this control relates to their intrinsic motivation for playing their sports. As demonstrated in

the qualitative results, all of the ninth graders, to some extent, discussed being controlled in the academic domain by contextual factors such as grades, teachers, and their parents, and in these discussions, they often related these factors to one another (e.g., I need to make the grades my parents expect). Interestingly, by twelfth grade, students seemed to have separated these more extrinsic forms of academic motivation from their intrinsic and identified motivation, indicating that although they still felt somewhat more extrinsically motivated in academics, this extrinsic motivation did not connect to their more internal motivation, and thus, they felt less controlled when they felt intrinsically motivated.

An interesting contradiction to this result is the finding that all of the forms of athletic motivation, no matter how intrinsic, extrinsic, or controlling, related to one another. For some reason, if a student felt motivated to play sports, he or she felt motivated in many different ways to play that sport. One would have assumed that if a student was more internally motivated to participate in athletics, then he or she would not endorse extrinsic reasons for such participation. It was true, however, that the means for more extrinsic reasons for playing sports were not nearly as high as those for the more internal reasons; therefore, although these different forms of athletic motivation were positively related to one another, students did not demonstrate high levels of introjected or external athletic motivation.

All of these findings taken together illustrate the differences between why students participate in academics and why they participate in athletics. All students are required to go to school and have limited choice in the subjects they must take classes. Although there are some limitations as to who is allowed to play school-sponsored sports

(i.e., students have to try out and are chosen to play), athletes are allowed to play or not play their sport, whichever sport they choose to play. Academics and athletics involve following the rules and earning extrinsic rewards (e.g., grades, parent praise, winning, impressing others), but as demonstrated in my qualitative analysis, academics involves many fewer or no intrinsic rewards for most students, while playing sports entails more intrinsic than extrinsic rewards to most of those involved in playing them. These results add an interesting perspective on Ryan and Deci's (1991) theory that extrinsic rewards cause a decrease in intrinsic motivation. This theory seems to hold for academics, in which intrinsic motivation was low compared to the other forms of motivation, but it does not seem to hold true for athletics, in which intrinsic motivation was the highest form of motivation. Again, my qualitative analysis illustrates that the motivational difference between these two domains lies in the amount of agency that the students are allowed subjectively to experience within each of them. The more control that students were given the more intrinsically motivated they were, as can be seen in athletics; on the other hand, the less control that students were allowed to experience, the less intrinsically motivated they were.

Identity and Motivation

The main purpose of this study was to examine the relationships among identification and the different forms of motivation. Taking together all of this study's results, a very strong relationship exists between identification and the more internal forms of motivation (i.e., intrinsic and identified) in both academics and athletics. In both of these domains, identification demonstrated the strongest connection with identified

motivation. Interestingly, each of these variables acted as a predictor of the other in analyses involving structural equation modeling, a result that can be interpreted to mean that identity and internalized motivation act as influences on one another (i.e., why an individual behaves in a certain way influences how he or she views himself or herself and vice versa), and these two variables derive from similar processes that create a shared meaning for individuals' affective and behavioral outcomes. As discussed in the qualitative chapter, the underlying process that identity and motivation share is a perceived sense of self as agent. The ninth graders who were interviewed made a variety of choices and in so doing demonstrated their perceived sense of agency. Some chose to follow the rules and not thwart "authority" (e.g., David, Trina, Jessica), while others chose to do just the opposite and find ways around the rules (e.g., Freddy, Greta, Kyle). Others actively chose to identify specifically with different domains (e.g., Irene, Kerrie), while others disidentified with specific domains and made choices that derived from this process (e.g., Steven).

In addition to relating to both intrinsic and identified motivation, identification also related to introjected motivation in academics and external motivation in athletics. Again, these results demonstrate that as with the relationships among the different forms of motivation, the relationships among identification and the more extrinsic forms of motivation show a connection between motivation and identity processes and the contexts within which the individuals in this study existed. The students' motivation and identities were shaped by the interplay between the extrinsic forces they experienced and the internal decisions that they made.

Another finding demonstrating the strong relationship between identity and motivation was the fewer and weaker relationships among the identification and motivation variables across the two domains as the students' ages increased, a finding that illustrates Harter and her colleagues' (1992, 1997) theory about the differentiation that occurs among identities as adolescents get older. Other authors such as Phinney (1993) have discussed this differentiation among multiple identities, and my study adds to these authors' findings and theories in that students' motivation also becomes more differentiated as they move through adolescence. Thus, through their strong connection, adolescents' identity and motivation become more differentiated with age.

Perceived Competence

Many researchers have focused on the importance of feeling competent and capable within a given domain in order to feel motivated in and identified with that specific domain and the tasks it requires (Deci, 1991, 2000, 2002; Harter, 1985, 1988; Harter & Monsour, 1992; Harter, Bresnick, Bouchey, & Whitesell, 1997; Little, Hawley, Henrich, & Marsland, 2002). In this study, as the age of the students increased, their academic perceived competence also increased, while their athletic perceived competence decreased, and all of the students, to some extent, demonstrated relationships between their perceived competence and both their motivation and identification in academics and athletics.

Interestingly, these relationships were much stronger in athletics than in academics. Perhaps because academics is such a broad domain encompassing several categories of learning (e.g., English, science, mathematics), students might feel

competent in one or two of these domain areas but might not feel competent more generally in academics due to their perceived lack of ability in other domain areas. Despite this lack of competence in specific areas, the students might still feel identified with and driven to succeed in academics more broadly speaking. Some perspectives supporting this hypothesis came out in the qualitative data, in which students discussed working hard and studying despite a perceived lack of ability. Some actually discussed working hard often in order to make up for this perceived lack of ability. In addition, students are compelled to go to school and participate in academics while they are not in athletics. In other words, students have no choice about participating in academics, but they do about participating in sports (as long as they make the team). There is a sense in which they are forced to identify with and be motivated in academics whether they feel competent or not, but they are usually not forced to identify with or be motivated in sports. If they don't feel competent in athletics, they can quit and disidentify from them without any real negative repercussions.

In addition to, and to some extent connected with, these different relationships that perceived competence showed with academics and athletics, this construct also demonstrated some interesting relationships with motivation and identification. For example, in academics, perceived competence only related to more internal forms of motivation (identified and intrinsic), while in athletics, it related to all four forms of motivation. Also, the relationships between academic perceived competence and identified and intrinsic academic motivation became stronger as the students aged. For the seventh graders, academic perceived competence was not related either to identified

or intrinsic academic motivation, while for ninth and twelfth graders, both of these relationships were significant. On the other hand, the relationships between athletic perceived competence and the forms of athletic motivation remained strong across all three grade levels. Again, these findings may relate to compulsory education versus voluntary sports participation, in that students are, to some degree, forced to be motivated in school but are not forced to view themselves as competent across all academic domains, while they have more choice about playing sports and view themselves as athletically competent when they are involved in sports.

By feeling more competent across academic domains, students may also feel more internally motivated in academics, and by not feeling competent across academic domains, they may feel less internally motivated in academics; therefore, it would appear that as students age, feeling competent in academics becomes more necessary to being internally motivated. Interestingly, the relationships between academic perceived competence and their more extrinsic forms of academic motivation also increased (although not significantly) as the students aged. These results connect to the qualitative relationship revealed between students' views of their academic ability and their perspectives of their grades, which demonstrated that students connected their perceived competence to what kinds of grades they made (a more extrinsic form of motivation).

For the group as a whole, perceived competence related to identification in each domain; however, this relationship in the academic domain was relatively low, so much so that none of the individual grade levels demonstrated a significant relationship between these two variables. As with the relationships between perceived competence

and the forms of motivation, the relationship between academic perceived competence and identification increased as the students aged (but did not do so significantly), while this relationship in the athletic domain remained consistently strong. Again, these findings demonstrate, to some extent, that as students age, their academic identities become more connected with their perceived abilities in academics, while their athletic identities remain connected to their perceived abilities in athletics no matter what their age.

Interestingly, academic perceived competence did not act as a mediator of the relationships between either academic identification and intrinsic academic motivation or academic identification and identified academic motivation; however, athletic perceived competence did act as a partial mediator of these relationships within the athletic domain. Therefore, although the relationships between identification and motivation were strong in both domains, only in the athletic domain were these relationships explained to some extent by students' perceptions of their abilities within the domain, thus suggesting that other constructs should be investigated as underlying the identification and motivation processes in academics (and to some extent in athletics).

Perceived Sense of Self as Agent

In my qualitative analysis, I hoped to derive from the data some of these possible other constructs that connected the identity and motivation processes and created the large amount of overlap between these seemingly different processes. When talking with the students about their academic and athletic experiences and observing them in different contexts, it became apparent that the school context within which these students

existed played a major role in influencing them and the choices that they made. However, it was also apparent that these students did not passively experience this context and that they actively chose how they wanted to act and who they wanted to be, thus demonstrating the process, perceived sense of self as agent, that made up the central phenomenon of the grounded theory I derived.

It is important to realize that the two sets of processes, identity processes and motivational processes, were a part of what was going on while I was there but also reflected the accumulation of experiences from the past. In so doing, not only did the students' perceived sense of self as agent influence this context, but context also influenced the students. Students felt some sense of agency, and they subjectively experienced academics and athletics, but how the context and those in it limited and manipulated this sense of agency and perceived control that each student experienced differed for each student. The more freely that these students felt they were allowed to experience these processes, the more identified and internally motivated they were within the given domain.

For example, Irene, who was the most intrinsically motivated student in academics in my qualitative analysis, felt that she had control over how others viewed her and believed that her actions would push others to view her how she wanted to be seen. Interestingly, while she worked to resist the labels and perceptions that she believed other people placed on her, she was also manipulated into feeling that she had to quit all of her sports in order to become what she wanted others to view. In this way, she acted to manipulate others' perspectives of her (i.e., demonstrating a sense of agency), while at

the same time, she was manipulated into quitting activities within a domain that she enjoyed (i.e., demonstrating a lack of agency). Therefore, although she had felt free to make this choice and opt out of the sports she had played, the context had influenced her perceptions of herself and those around her to push her to make this decision. As another example that demonstrates a differing process, Steven, who was completely amotivated in both academics and athletics, felt that he had little or no control over how he was viewed in school and in society in general (i.e., a perceived sense of little or no agency). Rather than simply accepting this lack of control over others' perspectives, Steven took control and pushed back against the context and these viewpoints by skipping class, intentionally failing his freshman year, and expressing anger toward many of his teachers and classmates. Unfortunately, such behaviors worked to fuel others' negative perspectives of him, which perpetuated his feelings of powerlessness. Thus, in attempting to resist being controlled by his context and those in it, Steven actually bought into the meaning that this context provided to him and perpetuated it through his actions. These examples illustrate the complicated nature of the processes, meaning-making, and negotiations that students experience while existing within these different contexts.

These findings relate to the general pattern found within motivation and identification research and theoretical frameworks. These processes rely on and are made up of similar processes that have been termed "agency," "control," "subjectivity," and "power" (Hagood, 2002; Kenway, 1998; Little et al., 2002; Ryan & Deci, 2000, 2002; Weiner, 1986). In addition, the literature has discussed how individuals must value or take as one's own success within a given domain in order to identify with and be

motivated in that domain. These two processes, feeling agentic and valuing, are discussed throughout the self-determination literature as well as the attribution and expectancy-value literatures. This study then relates these processes to the self, within which a perceived sense of agency and control allows an individual to push back against the values with which the context and society are asking the individual to identify. In this way, the interplay among agency, control, and valuing works to explain the overlap in the identification and motivation processes.

Relating Athletics and Academics

Having discussed the results that are most central to my research questions and hypotheses, I should address a few results that relate specifically to the student-athlete literature. One set of such results is the connections demonstrated among the more extrinsic forms of academic motivation and athletic motivation, connections that became weaker as the students' ages increased. These connections indicate that the more externally motivated students are in academics the more externally motivated they are in athletics also. Although these findings are difficult to interpret, perhaps students who feel less agentic in one domain also feel less agentic in other domains as well.

Another interesting finding relates to the multiple regression analyses. In these analyses, when athletic perceived competence was entered as a predictor of academic identification, it was found to be a negative predictor of academic identification for the whole group and specifically for the ninth graders. This relationship means that as students view themselves as being more capable in athletics, they identify less with academics. Why this is more likely for ninth graders and not the other two grade levels is

difficult to explain. Perhaps when these students enter high school, they experience conflict between these two domains that seventh graders do not experience because they have not experienced the large amount of differentiation that ninth graders have, and that twelfth graders do not experience because they have experienced this differentiation but have also begun to bring these different identities back into "harmony" with one another (Harter et al., 1997; Phinney, 1993). In addition, as discussed earlier, the ninth grade sample may have been largely made up of retainees from the previous year (i.e., 33% of the students). This difference in make-up of the ninth grade may underlie some of the different relationships and scores that these students demonstrated in comparison to the seventh and twelfth graders.

Additionally, the school in which I conducted both phases of my study represented a very specific type of context. This particular high school was well-known for its athletic prowess and above-average performances in sports (e.g., winning several play-offs in football, baseball, basketball, and soccer). Banners displayed the results of their athletic endeavors on the gymnasium walls and football field, while posters exhibited the student and staff support for their athletes on the walls of the cafeteria and hallways. In contrast to such above-average performances in sports, an examination of the academic scores of the school's students revealed an average to slightly below-average academic performance. To illustrate, the ninth graders demonstrated an 81.5% passing rate in reading (compared to the state's 82.4% passing rate) and a 61.1% passing rate in mathematics (compared to the state's 65.1% passing rate). Also, as mentioned in a previous chapter, this high school retained approximately one-third of its ninth graders in

2001, demonstrating that their academic performance had not been sufficient to allow these students to move on to the next grade. As discussed in my qualitative data, school administrators and faculty appeared to do a poor job of ensuring that students attended class, which may have resulted in students missing out on important academic content. Additionally, teachers often were observed allowing students to do nothing or participate in non-academic activities (e.g., watching movies) during class. All of these findings point to the importance of this particular context in influencing the students' attitudes and beliefs in relation to athletics and academics.

Limitations

This study did have several limitations. First, I did not examine gender or ethnicity differences in any of these analyses. Conducting such analyses would provide further information about how the different groups of students experience these different constructs and their relationships. Also, I did not collect data on any outcome variables such as GPA or other achievement variables. It might be interesting to see how these processes and relationships play out and influence such variables that are often the focus of educators and administrators. Additionally, the introjected athletic motivation scale demonstrated relatively low reliability; therefore, results and discussion related to this measure are limited to some extent by the measure's psychometric properties. In studies set to examine similar variables, another scale with better reliability, and thus validity, should be utilized. My results comparing the different grade levels was limited in that my analyses used a cross-sectional sample rather than a longitudinal sample; therefore, it might be the particular students within each of these grade levels rather than the

age/grade of these students that led to the findings that I reported. In my qualitative study, because I wanted to focus on the students' perceptions of their motivation and identification, I did not talk with other people such as teachers, parents, and coaches. Talking to these people, however, might have provided more insight into the context within which these students lived, thereby also providing a better perspective of this context's influence on the motivation and identification processes.

Implications for Future Research

Future research examining gender and ethnicity differences as well as the influence of these processes on different outcome variables would be very beneficial both from a theoretical perspective and an administrative perspective. Also, rather than only examining students' perceived sense of agency or control through qualitative methods, it might be helpful to examine this construct quantitatively (e.g., using a locus of control measure). Another implication lies in the type of scale I used to measure students' academic identification. Many researchers have derived what they term "identification" or "self-concept" scales in school or academics (e.g., Harter, 1985, 1988, Voelkl, 1997); however, often, these scales focus on constructs that are more related to self-esteem or perceived competence and/or that are more generally related to school rather than specifically to academics. By using a scale that is more similar to the one that I used in which students report how much they define themselves as an academic person or student, researchers would do a better job getting at the construct of academic identity/identification. One final area for future research would also be to examine these different processes and relationships within domains other than academics and athletics

(e.g., job/career, music/arts, specific academic domains such as math or science).

Implications for Practice

Although I examined several constructs that are quite theoretical, I believe that several implications for practice can be drawn from the findings. To begin with, identity has been viewed in other literature as a process that is influenced by institutional practices within a specific context (Hagood, 2002; Kenway, 1998; Phinney, 1993), and because my results demonstrated an extremely strong relationships between identity and motivation, motivation should, therefore, also be viewed as a process that is influenced by institutional practices within a specific context. Based on my qualitative results in which the negative influences of the context fed into students views of themselves and their motivation, educators should continually examine and reexamine how schools and other institutions help to create the very identities, forms of motivation, and behaviors that they supposedly work to diminish (e.g., amotivation, skipping). For example, as discussed in my qualitative results, using grades and other forms of feedback as extrinsic motivators (e.g., rewards and punishments), and therefore controlling elements within the context, can act to perpetuate the controlling environment that some students experience in schools.

Additionally, the strong relationship demonstrated in this study between identity and motivation illustrates that, similar to the ways that previous researchers and theorists have viewed identification (Erikson, 1956; Harter, 1981, 1985, 1988; Harter et al., 1997; Phinney, 1993), motivation should be viewed as a developmental process. As students identify with and value certain domains (and specific tasks within those domains), they

also become more internally motivated in those domains. Until schools and other institutions are able to promote more vigorously intrinsic motivation for learning academic subjects, which many researchers such as Deci, Ryan, and their colleagues (1991, 2000, 2002) have suggested is important for promoting student interest and positive affect toward academics, students will need to continue to identify with and internalize the value of learning and being successful academically. In order for this to happen, not only must institutions support this process and provide the optimal environment for these processes to occur but they must also allow students time to develop these attitudes and identities.

Finally, as my results indicate and other researchers have also discussed (Deci et al., 1991; Koestner & Losier, 2002; Ryan & Deci, 2000), educators need to consider ways to increase students' intrinsic motivation in academics. Although athletics and academics are clearly different domains that require different abilities and skills, they also share many attributes that students can enjoy (e.g., problem-solving, using spatial abilities). The key difference between these two domains based on my results and interpretation of them, however, lies in the differing amounts of agency, and to some extent competence and relatedness, that students feel within these two domains. Student-athletes in my qualitative study discussed how they played sports because they felt that they were capable athletes who enjoyed the sports that they had chosen to play. They also viewed their relationships with their coaches as being stronger than those that they shared with teachers. Examining these positive effects that the athletic context has on individuals' athletic motivation and translating them into the academic domain could help

educators to promote more internalized and intrinsic motivation in their students. By allowing students to feel capable, taking into consideration their interests, and providing them with supportive relationships, educational practitioners could help students to create more internalized and possibly intrinsic academic motivation for themselves.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Measures

General Information Form

1. Name _____

2. Grade _____

3. Gender: Male Female

4. Race/Ethnicity: _____

5. Grade Average: _____

6. Do you play on any sports team(s) for your school? _____

7. If you answered "yes" to question #6, which team(s) do you play on?

_____

8. Also, if you answered "yes" to question #6, how long have you played the particular sport(s) these teams represent?

_____

_____

PART 1

In this part, you will be asked to do 2 things:

1. Read 2 statements and decide which one is *more true for YOU*.
2. Then decide *how much more true* that statement is for YOU.

You will then CHECK ONLY ONE BOX to show your answer FOR EACH ITEM.

FOR EXAMPLE:

	Really True for me	**Sort of True for me**			**Sort of True for me**	**Really True for me**
1.	☐	☐	Some people like to dance a lot.	BUT	Other people *don't* like to dance very much.	☐	☐

I checked the one box "Sort of true for me" next to the statement "Some people like to dance a lot." I did this because I do like to dance a lot, but I feel like this is only sort of true for me.

Now, please go ahead and answer the following items honestly. When you come to the page marked Part 2, please stop to wait for further instructions.

	Really True for me	Sort of True for me			Sort of True for me	Really True for me
1.	☐	☐	Some teenagers feel that they are just as smart as others their age.	BUT	Other teenagers *aren't* so sure and wonder if they are as smart.	☐	☐
2.	☐	☐	Some teenagers feel that it is important to do well in sports in order to like themselves.	BUT	Other teenagers *don't* feel that doing well in sports is all that important to how much they like themselves.	☐	☐
3.	☐	☐	Some teenagers think it is important to be intelligent.	BUT	Other teenagers *don't* think it is important to be intelligent.	☐	☐
4.	☐	☐	Some teenagers think that being good at sports will help them to be more successful later in life.	BUT	Other teenagers *don't* think that being good at sports is that important to their being successful later in life.	☐	☐
5.	☐	☐	Some teenagers are pretty slow in finishing their school work.	BUT	Other teenagers can do their school work more quickly.	☐	☐
6.	☐	☐	Some teenagers do *not* feel that they are very athletic.	BUT	Other teenagers feel that they are very athletic.	☐	☐
7.	☐	☐	Some teenagers *don't* think that doing well in school is really that important.	BUT	Other teenagers think that doing well in school is important.	☐	☐
8.	☐	☐	Some teenagers *don't* do well at new outdoor games.	BUT	Other teenagers are good at new games right away.	☐	☐
9.	☐	☐	Some teenagers do very well at their class work.	BUT	Other teenagers *don't* do very well at their class work.	☐	☐
10.	☐	☐	Some teenagers *don't* think that being athletic is that important.	BUT	Other teenagers think that being athletic is important.	☐	☐

	Really True for me	Sort of True for me			Sort of True for me	Really True for me
11.	☐	☐	Some teenagers think that getting good grades will help them to be more successful later in life.	BUT	Other teenagers *don't* think good grades are that important to their being successful later in life.	☐	☐
12.	☐	☐	Some teenagers think they could do well at just about any new athletic activity.	BUT	Other teenagers are afraid they might not do well at a new athletic activity.	☐	☐
13.	☐	☐	Some teenagers have trouble figuring out the answers in school.	BUT	Other teenagers almost always can figure out the answers.	☐	☐
14.	☐	☐	Some teenagers feel that they are better than others their age at sports.	BUT	Other teenagers *don't* feel they can play as well.	☐	☐
15.	☐	☐	Some teenagers feel that it is important to do well in school in order to like themselves.	BUT	Other teenagers *don't* feel that doing well in school is all that important to how much they like themselves.	☐	☐
16.	☐	☐	Some teenagers do very well at all kinds of sports.	BUT	Other teenagers *don't* feel that they are very good when it comes to sports.	☐	☐
17.	☐	☐	Some teenagers feel that they are pretty intelligent.	BUT	Other teenagers question whether they are intelligent.	☐	☐
18.	☐	☐	Some teenagers think it's important to be good at sports.	BUT	Other teenagers *don't* care much about being good at sports.	☐	☐

PART 2

In this part, you will circle a number from 1 to 7 to show how much you agree with each statement. Please CIRCLE ONLY ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.

FOR EXAMPLE:

1. Most people consider me a great dancer.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						**Strongly Agree**

I circled the number 3 because I sort of disagree with this statement. Maybe some people think I'm a good dancer, but I wouldn't say most people think this way.

Now, please go ahead and answer the following items honestly. When you come to the page marked Part 3, please stop to wait for further instructions.

1. I consider myself an athlete.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

2. I would be very depressed if I were sick and could not attend class.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

3. I have many goals related to sport.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

4. I need to work hard in my classes to feel good about myself.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

5. Most of my friends are athletes.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

6. I feel bad about myself when I do poorly in my classes.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

7. Sports is the most important part of my life.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

8. Other people see me mainly as a student.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

9. I spend more time thinking about sports than anything else.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

10. My classes are the most important part of my life.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

11. I need to participate in sports to feel good about myself.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

12. Most of my friends are good students.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

13. Other people see me mainly as an athlete.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

14. My classes are the only important thing in my life.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

15. I feel bad about myself when I do poorly in sports.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

16. I have many goals related to my classes.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

17. Sports is the only important thing in my life.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

18. I consider myself a student first.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

19. I would be very depressed if I were injured and could not compete in sports.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

20. I spend more time thinking about my classes than anything else.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

PART 3

In this part, you will circle a number from 1 to 7 to show how truly you think each statement answers the question, "Why do you play sports?" Please CIRCLE ONLY ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.

FOR EXAMPLE:

Why do you play sports?

1. Because it gives me a chance to show off what a great dancer I am.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all true			**somewhat true**			**very true**

I circled the number 1 because I do not think this statement is a true answer of the question, "Why do you play sports?" I play sports for other reasons than this.

Now, please go ahead and answer the following items honestly. When you come to the page marked Part 4, please stop to wait for further instructions.

Why do you play sports?

1. Because I simply enjoy playing sports.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all true			somewhat true			very true

2. Because playing sports is important and beneficial for my health and lifestyle.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all true			somewhat true			very true

3. Because I would feel bad about myself if I didn't do it.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all true			somewhat true			very true

4. Because it is fun and interesting.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all true			somewhat true			very true

5. Because others like me better when I play a sport.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all true			somewhat true			very true

6. Because I'd be afraid of not staying in shape.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all true			somewhat true			very true

7. Because it helps my image.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all true			somewhat true			very true

8. Because it is personally important to me to play sports.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all true			somewhat true			very true

9. Because I feel pressured to play sports.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all true			somewhat true			very true

10. Because I have a strong value for being active and playing sports.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all true			somewhat true			very true

11. For the pleasure of discovering and mastering new playing techniques.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all true			somewhat true			very true

12. Because I want others to see me as an athlete.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all true			somewhat true			very true

PART 4

This part is very similar to the last one, but in this part, you will circle the words that show how truly you think each statement answers 4 questions:

1. "Why do I do my homework?"
2. "Why do I work on my classwork?"
3. "Why do I try to answer hard questions in class?"
4. "Why do I try to do well in school?"

Please CIRCLE ONLY ONE NUMBER FOR EACH OF THE ITEMS under each question.

FOR EXAMPLE:

Why do I work on my classwork?

1. Because it helps me to improve my dancing ability.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

I circled "Not at all true" because I do not think this statement is a true answer of the question, "Why do I work on my classwork?" I work on my classwork for other reasons than this.

Now, please go ahead and answer the following items honestly.

A. Why do I do my homework?

1.Because I want the teacher to think I'm a good student.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

2.Because I'll get in trouble if I don't.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

3.Because it's fun.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

4. Because I will feel bad about myself if I don't do it.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

5. Because I want to understand the subject.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

6. Because that's what I'm supposed to do.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

7. Because I enjoy doing my homework.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

8. Because it's important to me to do my homework.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

B. Why do I work on my classwork?

9. So that the teacher won't yell at me.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

10. Because I want the teacher to think I'm a good student.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

(Continuing to answer question B: Why do I work on my classwork?)

11. Because I want to learn new things.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

12. Because I'll be ashamed of myself if it didn't get done.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

13. Because it's fun.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

14. Because that's the rule.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

15. Because I enjoy doing my classwork.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

16. Because it's important to me to work on my classwork.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

C. Why do I try to answer hard questions in class?

17. Because I want the other students to think I'm smart.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

18. Because I feel ashamed of myself when I don't try.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

19. Because I enjoy answering hard questions.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

20. Because that's what I'm supposed to do.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

21. To find out if I'm right or wrong.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

(Continuing to answer question C: Why do I try to answer hard questions in class?)

22. Because it's fun to answer hard questions.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

23. Because it's important to me to try to answer hard questions in class.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

24. Because I want the teacher to say nice things about me.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

D. Why do I try to do well in school?

25. Because that's what I'm supposed to do.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

26. So my teachers will think I'm a good student

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

27. Because I enjoy doing my school work well.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

28. Because I will get in trouble if I don't do well.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

29. Because I'll feel really bad about myself if I don't do well.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

30. Because it's important to me to try to do well in school.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

31. Because I will feel really proud of myself if I do well.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

32. Because I might get a reward if I do well.

Very true Sort of true Not very true Not at all true

APPENDIX B

Case Studies

The following case studies provide a more in-depth portrait of each student and are organized according to the original categories that the students were chosen to represent, beginning with the high academic/high athletic students and ending with the low academic/low athletic students. Each of the case studies begin with the students' own words for answering the question, "Who am I?" and go on to discuss the students' perspectives of the important influences in their lives, viewpoints of their academic and athletic participation, relationships with other people, and plans for the present and the future.

Alex: High Academic/High Athletic Identification

> *I feel that number one I am a Christian. That is who I am first. Next I am a son and brother. Which to me is important because of family purposes. Last I am a student and an athlete. Those two things come last in my life.*

A White student-athlete, Alex played on the freshman baseball team. One of Alex's coaches described him as "intense," but Alex talked about himself in both academics and athletics very pragmatically and matter-of-factly. He enjoyed math but did not like English, especially reading. Alex's identification and perceived competence scores followed the same pattern: high in academics and high in athletics. Interestingly, he demonstrated high scores in identified, introjected, and external forms of academic motivation and high scores in all four forms of athletic motivation.

During all of our discussions of his feelings about and performance in academics and athletics, Alex talked about himself as if the two areas logically fit together for him and were just what he had always done. Alex began playing sports when he was four

years old and had, as he said it, “always mad As in school.” His friends were “just the guys [he] grew up with” and “the same group of friends [he’s] always hung out with.” Alex’s answers to my questions came out matter-of-factly and as if he had never questioned or wondered himself about how he differed from or was similar to other students.

Alex was aware, however, of how teachers treated other students and of how other students interacted with each other. For example, when asked about his past and present teachers, he described them as encouraging, but he also talked about how some teachers had been “mean” and would “discourage, like, some other kids sometimes.” In these discussions, however, Alex related these negative, or less than positive, experiences of other students only indirectly to himself. As another example, we were discussing advantages to being a student-athlete versus just being a student, and Alex said, “I haven’t really, like, seen any yet, like, very big ones. Like, some of my friends have gotten advantages that I haven’t really gotten yet.” He explained further, “Like some of the like really big football players have gotten, like, slided on grades and stuff like that,” and he continued, “I mean, if I was, like, making bad grades like they do, I mean, I’d probably want it, but I really don’t really care about it because I don’t have to worry about making, like, Cs and stuff.” Therefore, Alex recognized how teachers treated other students, related these experiences to himself, and contrasted these students’ experiences to his own experiences. He also realized that he interacted differently with some of his classmates than some other students did with them. In my observations, I noticed that he helped other students often, and when I asked him about this, he said:

> I usually have, like, the better grade in the class usually, so they usually come to

> me for help, and some kids, like, they won't really help you. Some of them, like, I've seen them go to people, and they just won't help them at all because they don't really want to, and it's no big deal to me to help them. I don't really, it doesn't really bother me to help them, so I just help them.

Because he saw himself as somewhat different than these other students, Alex also viewed his interactions with them and with his teachers in contrast to the interactions that he perceived among these students and teachers.

Although academics and making good grades were important to Alex, playing baseball was also important, so much so that he had quit the golf team because it was affecting his batting technique, and, in fact, he felt that he was "more identified for [his] athletics." He talked a lot about his past experiences with sports, his current position on the team, and his teammates and coaches. Alex contrasted his relationships with coaches to those with teachers:

> Teachers have always not, some of my teachers weren't like about athletics at all, and some of them were, and then coaches just want you to do, do your best and stuff so that you can keep playing and stuff, so they care, like, about a lot of their players, how good they, how well they do in school and life and stuff.

As to his teammates, almost all of Alex's friends who I saw him sit with at lunch I had either overheard talking about playing their sport or seen playing at one of the practices that I observed. Coincidentally, all of these boys (and a couple of girls) were the friends with whom Alex had grown up.

Like other student-athletes with whom I talked, Alex sometimes felt a time conflict between achieving academically and playing sports; however, he also talked about knowing how to keep the two separate, "I know when to be serious about academics and be serious about athletics." He added:

> Whenever it's time to come down to school, I just focus just on school at the time.

> I don't, like, I try not to let anything else get in the way at the time, like, if I have to, like, accomplish something through school.

In addition to talking about this separation helping him to be successful in both areas, Alex discussed how successes in both domains "get [him] pumped."

At the end of my study, Alex was focused on playing summer league baseball and hanging out with his friends, many of whom were playing in the same league. He was also hoping to move up to the varsity team the next year so that he could help the baseball team win a state championship, which they had barely missed achieving this year. Academically, he had done well in all of his classes and planned on continuing to do well.

Alex talked of playing baseball in college, being healthy and wealthy, and raising his children to be athletes. He also discussed possibly playing professional baseball and definitely having a family and being a good parent.

Charles: High Academic/High Athletic Identification

> *I am Charles a kind wise kind that like to have fun and hang out with friends.*

An African-American student-athlete, Charles was playing on the freshman football team. He enjoyed math more than other subjects and struggled quite a bit in biology. When describing himself, Charles used the term "class clown" quite a bit. On the quantitative scales, Charles fell into the medium category in academic identification and the high category in athletic identification; on the other hand, in perceived competence, he fell into the high category in the academic domain and the medium category in the athletic domain. He also demonstrated high scores in identified academic motivation and intrinsic/identified athletic motivation.

For Charles, a big influence on much of what he did was his father. Charles's mother had died when he was in eighth grade, and his older brother had been arrested for drugs and spent some time in jail. The relationship between Charles and his father had gone through some changes because of these events. Charles described this change in relationship with his father:

> My dad was like, 'Well, now, I got one more son left. Let's keep a close grip on him and make sure he don't go nowhere with it.' But I mean, it's not like, 'Charles, go to bed at six o'clock.' But it's like, 'You can do what you want, but don't take it [to] the extreme because you have to come back here to rest.'

In both academics and athletics, Charles mentioned his father's influence several times, and he talked about his father's "plan" for him:

> I like the plan that he's doing because I mean, as long as I got a goal, and my goal now is to stay in football. In order to stay in football, you have to pass, so I pass and then I stay in football, and I get two for one.

Academically, Charles focused mainly on passing and getting good grades, which he defined as all Bs. In fact, he admitted that he would "not go for" all 70s because he would not want to have to show his father these grades. Charles described most of his experiences with teachers as positive, and his negative perspective of them came from being bored with "listening to them preach" or them being "cocky." He also talked about sometimes trying hard in classes but thinking to himself, "If I can't do this, then what makes you think I can do this?" For Charles, fifth grade was a turning point in both his life and his academic career because, as he put it, "I got a little bad on the outside," and he had to decide which route he was going to take. As he said, "I had to step up and try to do what I thought was best for my sister and my mom and my brother." Rather than following his older brother and getting into drugs, he decided to focus on doing well in

school and playing sports.

Charles's athletic career started when he was 10 years old, and he played both football and basketball in middle school. He chose to focus only on playing football in high school because his father told him that he was "going to be a big guy, so [he] might as well play football." Both Charles's father and his younger sister, who was in eighth grade and with whom Charles felt very close, had played or were playing sports. He also said that all of his friends were athletes, whose "same thing is like football is first," and talked about how he and his friends praised each other in athletics often. Charles contrasted this to academics, a domain in which he felt he received very little praise and wished that he got more because he felt that "a little push would make me do what I got to do."

For now, Charles reported enjoying mostly hanging out with his friends and working on attaining grades that would allow him to continue playing his sport and make him and his father happy. In class, especially in algebra, he focused on doing his work, for the most part, but like other students, he did talk quite a bit with friends and often joked around with teachers. Interestingly, other students often mentioned Charles when I talked to them about student-athletes, and some of them laughed about his behavior in class. Charles did take longer than other students to finish an assignment in English; however, this was not due to his playing around. During football practice, he participated in several different drills and joked around and talked with several other players while waiting his turn. He spent most lunch periods playing basketball with other guys.

When talking about the future, Charles's goals and plans centered around having

money and being financially stable (e.g., getting out of college with no debt, having a nice job). He also talked some about going to college versus playing professional football:

> If I, like, get in football, and it takes me too far, and I was like college ain't in my mind right then. Football and if I do this, then I can have this, and I can have that. Then, I mean, that's something, like, that would make me slip and just forget all about college.

Jessica: High Academic/High Athletic Identification

I am an athlete. I do my best to be the best in what I am doing. I am Jessica Smith.

An African-American student-athlete, Jessica played on the freshman basketball team. Jessica described her friends as a "mix of athletes and popular kids" and not "smart kids," and many people in her family were athletically inclined. Her favorite subject was math, and she liked her algebra teacher this year. On the other hand, she did not like English and really disliked the pre-AP English class and teacher. Jessica's identification scores fell in the high category for both domains, while her academic perceived competence fell in the medium category and her athletic perceived competence fell in the high category. She demonstrated high scores in introjected/external academic motivation and intrinsic/ identified athletic motivation.

Jessica talked about not wanting to be a "normal," or what she also termed, "geeky" person. She wanted people to know who she was and to stand out from the crowd. Much of what Jessica discussed centered on others' perspectives of her and other people being the impetus for her motivation in academics and to some extent in athletics. For example, Jessica said:

> Getting in trouble is pretty embarrassing in front of everybody, so you want to do it so you don't have to be yelled at. Let's see, then you, if you don't do it, then

> you get yelled at, and not only do you get yelled at, you get a zero, you fail, and you still have to run. And then, you still end up having to do the homework, so why not do it instead of just waiting and having to go through all that trouble to make you do it.

As can be seen in Jessica's words, "having to" perform in academics and in athletics (i.e., "have to run") was much of her reason for why she acted and felt the way she did about school and sports.

Academically, Jessica talked about working a lot and about how hard her classes were. She also talked about having "half mean teachers and half nice teachers." She especially disliked her freshman English teacher, and when I observed her in this class, she was very quiet and only responded as many times as she had to according to the rules of the discussion they were having that class day. In contrast, during her favorite class, algebra, she worked the entire class period, even when many other students were doing nothing or talking, but also talked and laughed often with other students and the teacher.

Jessica related her academics to her playing sports quite often in our discussions. At one point, she explained some of this relationship, "You have to be a[n] athlete, but you have to, like, want to learn. You can't just go and just be like, whatever, I don't care." Then she added:

> If you really want to play basketball, then you'll get to the books, and you'll learn so you can pass and play. If you don't really want to play, then it's, like, okay, the easy way out is to not do my work, and I won't have to play instead of quitting.

Taking into consideration all of these statements, Jessica viewed academics and athletics as having a kind of symbiotic relationship with one another. From her point of view, they fit together so that in order to do well at one you also have to do well at the other. She also, however, saw a negative side to focusing on athletics and being a student-athlete:

> Like my Spanish teacher, if you're a[n] athlete, she's not going to fail you. She wants all athletes to pass. She's like, 'As long as you're playing sports and doing something, I'm not going to fail you.' It really isn't helping me to be in Spanish because I'm not really having to learn anything. All I have to do is just go, and she'll pass me.

Jessica also talked about the school itself and the focus that was placed on sports versus academics. As she put it while pointing at the banners that were hung around the cafeteria, "Good luck this season. I don't see anything about school," and she went on to say, "Sometimes it's a bad thing because, like, sometimes it gives the athletes the attitude that since I'm an athlete, I run the world. I run the school. Just, like, there's some real bad attitudey [sic] jocks at this school."

Although Jessica did see academics and athletics fitting together in some ways, she also felt that sometimes her playing sports interfered with her being successful in school because of time conflicts. Additionally, she felt that she was better at playing sports than she was at being successful in academics. Jessica credited her success in athletics to her naturally ability while crediting her success in academics to her hard work and studying.

Jessica had played basketball and other sports since she was 5 years old. She liked that basketball was "fast-paced" and "busy," but she did not like that her coaches made her run a lot. Jessica's brother, who she looked up to for being a "smart athlete," played on the varsity football team and had gotten a scholarship to play in college. Her biggest influence, however, was Kobe Bryant, who she admired for his "desire to succeed." In fact, she said, "I used to, like, he came straight out of high school and went to the [NBA]. I used to want to do that, but then I thought about it for a while. Or if I get hurt…" She

talked a lot about injuries she had had and how she had gotten over these to continue her basketball career.

At the end of the study, Jessica was continuing to focus on her basketball career. Her brother had left to play college football, and Jessica was moving up to the varsity basketball team next year. She talked some about her classes, mainly discussing how much she hated her English teacher. Jessica's future plans included playing college and professional basketball and some day becoming a lawyer.

David: High Academic/Low Athletic Identification

> *I am a person who enjoys the pursuit of knowledge. I am curious about my environment. I am a patriot.*

David, a White student, was very involved in the ROTC program at school. David enjoyed English and reading but did not like math as much, although he did well in all of his classes. He described he and his friends as "kind of outcasts" and wondered often about other students' behavior and why they chose to thwart "authority." David's identification scores and perceived competence scores followed the same pattern: high in academics and low in athletics. He demonstrated high scores in identified academic motivation and amotivation in athletics.

David viewed himself as extremely competent in academics and felt like doing well in school had always been easy for him. In addition, following the rules and not "challenging authority" were important to David. He discussed not understanding other students' attitudes toward school and doing their assignments:

> I see some of the kids in my class, and like biology today, we had to take notes on a video and write a short summary of the video, and everybody's like, "Ooh, I don't want to do this," and all this, and I was like done halfway through the class. I had the summary done before the video was over, and they're all looking at me like, "What's the problem with you? What are you a nerd?" And

I'm like, "Well, you know, they gave us an assignment."

He added, "It's like everybody just wants to go up against authority no matter what it is." In contrast to these students' attitudes, David described his being "afraid of authority." He also discussed wanting to learn and understand and contrasted this attitude to most other students' attitudes that he had observed:

> Like I say, just, just look around. I mean, these people, they just don't, they don't want to know things, and that bugs me. How can you do that? How can you not want to know? I mean I want to understand. I want to know. I want to learn more.

David had moved to the present school district from out of state during the previous year, and before moving, he had been worried about how he would perform academically in the new school system. After attending school for almost two years in the new school district, however, he felt very capable in all of his classes and had begun looking into taking pre-AP classes next year. The class in which he felt most comfortable and enjoyed the most was English, especially reading. David talked about his love for reading, "the arts," social studies, and "anything with history." Math and science, on the other hand, were his least favorite classes, mainly because, in his opinion, the classes he was taking did not "apply" these subjects to real-life and were "boring." David also described a couple of negative experiences with teachers that he felt had caused him to like math less. To contrast these opinions of his math and science classes, much of the conversation that I heard between he and his friends, particularly his best friend, centered around computers, technology, and science. In addition, David talked about wanting to go to graduate school in engineering, which we talked about requiring knowledge and skills in math and science.

Along with going to college and graduate school, David also discussed going into the military upon graduating from high school. As a freshman, he participated in the school's ROTC program and planned on continuing in the program throughout his high school career. David talked about several people within this program who had influenced him and helped him figure out how being in the military would fit with his future plans.

We also discussed sports, to some extent, and David had actually participated in several different sports in the past (e.g., baseball, soccer, flag football), but he felt that the older he got, the worse he got at sports. He described himself as "just too big and clumsy." When I asked him about playing football, since he was a rather large boy, he explained:

> It was too strategic for me. I mean, you know, I am a thinking man, but I can't think, I can't think that hard when I'm thinking about hitting a guy in front of me, you know? I'm going to hit him. I don't want to do anything with the ball. You guys can take care of the ball. I'll just hit that guy.

Thus, despite his mother's attempts to get him involved in sports, David had been "turned off" by them and decided to "[get] away from the athletic stuff in seventh grade."

At the end of his freshman year, David felt good about his academic career and his participation in the ROTC program. He had decided to take pre-AP history as a sophomore but had opted not to take pre-AP English because he met the teacher and decided to take English from another teacher. Outside of school, David and his best friend enjoyed watching science fiction movies and discussing topics that ranged from recent computer technology to his friend's oppressive parents to dirty jokes that they had heard from other people. Interestingly, during one of our informal discussions, David and his friend talked with me about how they had decided that people who skip class actually

had the right idea by focusing more on having fun than on working. They explained to me how working just led to more work, therefore, fun should lead to more fun, and more fun is definitely better than more work. Based on this logic, they had decided to change their ways and begin to have more fun; however, David's behavior in class and our further discussions led me to believe that he either had formed this opinion facetiously or had reversed it.

In the future, David planned on "getting through college," attending graduate school, and getting into the Air Force. He talked about wanting to be a pilot but felt that because of his size and other physical limitations, this might not be a possibility for him. For now, David also said that he thinks he would just focus on his career and not have a family.

Trina: High Academic/Low Athletic Identification

(did not participate in the final formal interview)

Trina, a White student, "love[d] school" and also participated in the school's ROTC program. Trina worked hard in school but did not feel like she was very smart. Her favorite subjects were math and English, and she struggled in biology. Trina's academic identification score fell in the high category, while her athletic identification score fell in the low category. In perceived competence, however, she demonstrated low scores in both areas. As to motivation, Trina demonstrated high scores in identified and external academic motivation and amotivation in athletics.

Trina described herself as a shy person and discussed "trying to get out of the shy stage and just be there." She and her younger brother and sister lived with her father's parents even though her parents lived in the same town as them. Neither of her parents

had graduated from high school, and in describing her siblings, she felt like her sister was really smart and would graduate from high school; her brother, on the other hand, she said "could care less" and would probably "drop out in tenth or eleventh grade." Trina described her sister as much more of an influence on her, and she also talked about how her friends help her with her work and help her understand what is going on in class.

Academically, Trina felt like the main reason she was "kind of" successful was because she studied and worked hard. She also talked about how much she loved going to school and how good all of her teachers had been. When I observed her in her favorite class, algebra, Trina and another girl worked and talked quite a bit together. Trina often looked over to see how her friend was working a problem or doing something on her computer, and when the teacher came over to answer one of her friend's questions, Trina paid just as much attention to what the teacher said as her friend did. At the beginning her least favorite class, biology, Trina worked on the assignment that the teacher had given them despite the fact that many other students spent this time either talking or doing nothing. When it came time to tell an answer aloud to the teacher, however, Trina said that she could not find it just as one other student before her had said and four others after her said. In addition, when she was asked again five minutes later to give the answer, she still had not found it and wrote it down only after a girl after her said the answer. Actually, almost every time a student said an answer aloud, Trina wrote it down, which indicated that she had not found many of the answers for which she had been looking. Later, the class went outside to collect specimens for an experiment, and Trina worked with one boy who she sat next to in class. The two of them worked alone on this

assignment, while the two other girls who were supposed to be helping them sat on a fallen tree and talked about how Trina and the boy were doing all the work. Each of these examples shows the relationships that Trina had developed with other students in her classes to help her (and them) be as successful as possible.

During lunch and in the hallways, I noticed that Trina spent a lot of time with the same three or four friends. One of these people was the girl in her algebra class, but the others were not in either of the classes I visited. Trina spent her lunchtime walking the hallways with these friends and talking about their families, skipping class, going out with boys, and other topics of teenage life.

In addition to enjoying her classes, Trina also participated in the school's ROTC program and planned on going into the Army or Air Force when she graduates from high school. Her future plans also included going to college and getting into nursing.

Freddy: Average Academic/Average Athletic Identification

> *I'm Freddy Johnson, I'm human being who is nice. I'm a person who works hard. I'm a person who knows what they want.*

Freddy's family was originally from Guatemala, and three of his siblings still lived there. Freddy participated in boxing outside of school and was a member of Upward Bound. He reported enjoying all subjects, but he did not like his English or geography classes this year. When asked to describe himself, Freddy called he and his friends "ladies' men." Both of Freddy's identification scores fell in the medium category, but both of his perceived competence scores fell in the high category. In addition, in both domains, he demonstrated high scores in identified motivation.

Freddy's participation in Upward Bound provided a lot of his incentive for doing

well in school. When I first interviewed him, Freddy was finishing his probation period in Upward Bound, which means he had to have perfect attendance for eight weeks and had to make all As and Bs. Freddy described his view on his past and present perspectives of school:

> Right now, I'm more motivated on school now. It'd be, like, back in the day, like, we, when people say first get into high school, you start slacking off. That's what I did, but it was easy. You can, like, skip and whatever and not get in trouble, but now, I'm being more responsible getting more motivated into school, and not listening to everybody, "Let's go do this." And I haven't skipped for, like, over eight weeks, and that's a miracle. I usually skip. One time I skipped chemistry for three weeks.

At this time, he also told me that he really enjoyed being in Upward Bound because it "makes [him] be good in school;" however, a couple of times after this conversation, when I tried to observe Freddy in his classes, he failed to show up to class even though I had seen him in the cafeteria or hallway. Freddy and I discussed his skipping class after this happened, and he told me that he had actually skipped English, his least favorite class, 42 times this year and had begun skipping again because he "really had no reason" to go to class. I brought this subject up again at our last interview, after Freddy had attended several weeks of Upward Bound classes and training during the summer, and he had changed his perspective again, saying,

> I think they're putting me on a contract or something. Like, perfect attendance, have to pass all my classes, and everything, or I get kicked out, and then, like, Upward Bound's, like, really important to me. You know, it helped me out a lot. I learned a lot of things in the past summer. And I really liked it a lot.

Then he added later,

> I can't [skip]. I'll get kicked out and that'd be, like, really important to me. They, I see, like, they, we have a senior's day too. They just graduated, and they call it bridge student, and they [are] going to college. And they told us all that it helped

them so much. And it, like, it inspired me, like, not to do anything, to be good.

Due to his skipping class so often, Freddy failed almost all of his classes this year, but he still thought he had enough credits to be in the tenth grade. Although Freddy did miss class often, when he was in class, especially one he enjoyed, he participated quite a bit and stayed on-task. For example, during his French class, Freddy often responded to the teacher's questions and added several comments during their discussions. In contrast, during English, again, his least favorite class, Freddy played with a toy that he pulled out of his pocket and often laid his head on his desk for long periods of time. It should be noted, however, that the two times I observed during this class – the time just described and one time that Freddy skipped – the teacher was showing movies, neither of which seemed to have anything to do with English (i.e., *Hoosiers*, *The Miracle Worker*). In fact, Freddy said that many of his classes did not "interest" him, and he went on to talk about how in some of his classes, especially the ones he skipped, they just watched movies or his teachers taught "nothing."

In addition to going to school, Freddy also participated in boxing training and tournaments outside of school. He had a personal trainer who Freddy liked quite a bit but who he did not work with on a consistent basis because paying him was pretty expensive. Freddy viewed himself as an extremely able athlete and had won 13 tournaments in his short boxing career. He also talked some about playing on the varsity football or soccer team when he is older, but having a job and making money may interfere with his participating in these sports and had already begun to interfere with his involvement in boxing.

At present, Freddy focused on staying in Upward Bound and doing well in school; hanging out with his friends, with whom he often played basketball during lunch; and making money by working with his father, who worked as a chef in a country club. He had a girlfriend who is also in Upward Bound and whom Freddy said makes good grades. Boxing tournaments and training have been put on hold for now so that Freddy can keep working and maybe get a second job to buy a car to visit his girlfriend who lived in another town.

Freddy's plans for the future centered around having a family; getting through school, including college; and being successful. He wanted to attend a local college and major in business so that he can one day own his own business.

Irene: Average Academic/Average Athletic Identification

> I am…this is really tough. I am a teenage girl with nothing and everything to lose. I am spontanious (sp) and unique yet quiet and collect. I am always ready to lend a hand to anyone who deserves it. I am nothing that you want me to be. I am everything that you don't. I guess is the best answer I can give.

A White student-athlete, Irene played on the varsity golf team and also played percussion in the school band. Irene described she and her friends as "band dorks" but also said she had a lot of different friends. Her favorite subjects were English and history, and she struggled in math. Irene especially liked to write and was working on a book, and she also enjoyed music and had started her own band with a friend. Irene demonstrated medium scores in academic and athletic identification and high scores in academic and athletic perceived competence. She was the only student who had higher scores in intrinsic academic motivation than in any of the other types of academic motivation, and she also demonstrated high scores in intrinsic athletic motivation.

Before high school, Irene had been very involved in athletics by playing on every possible sort of sports team for her middle school. Upon entering high school, however, Irene decided to stop playing all of the sports she had been playing to focus on academics, writing, and playing music in the band. In her words, she switched from being the "wild, crazy, sports fanatic person" to being the "wild, crazy student person" because she wanted to be "taken more seriously" by other people. As she put it:

> I enjoyed sports more than school…but I still had some favorite classes. I started liking English a whole bunch more and started wanting to become a writer. And a lot of people didn't know me for, like, writing and stuff. They thought of me as, you know, a big sports person, but, so when I started getting into middle school sports, I wanted to be taken more seriously, so I sort of kind of pushed away from the sports a bit, and, to the point where I just don't really do them any more. You know, I still enjoy them, but I'd rather be taken more seriously, and I wasn't being taken seriously as an athlete.

She went on to say:

> I feel bad when I do bad in school because I realize that I can't do sports forever, and I'm going to have to fall back on something, and if I don't have anything to fall back on, then I'm basically screwed. But as far as having people not see me as a student, they never really…it's kind of hard for people to see me as that – as a student.

One of the people who Irene discussed as focusing on her sports was her father. She expressed negative perspectives of her and her father's relationship and talked often about how he expected her to do well and participate in areas that are just the opposite of what she actually liked and wanted to do. As she put it:

> He never really supported me in anything I really wanted to do except sports, and I think that's maybe one of the reasons why I stopped doing them because I wanted him to realize that I've got other stuff going on up there, you know?

One other area in which Irene felt her father did not support her was academics. Although Irene's favorite subject was English, and she was also working on writing a

book, she felt that her father only cared if she did well in math. Algebra, and math in general, was Irene's least favorite subjects, and she had to take algebra two years in a row to pass it. Despite Irene's intrinsic interest in specific areas of academics like writing and learning about history, she expressed an extreme dislike of her algebra class and teacher. In fact, when I observed her during this class, she sat with her back to the teacher most of the class period and appeared to talk with the girls across from her often during the teacher's discussion of problems with the class. When I asked her about this class, she said, "Ms. Marks, I feel that she wasn't required to teach me algebra. Like, I still, I mean, it's not like I want to learn algebra or anything, but I don't feel like I learned anything in algebra this year." Irene went on to say, "It's all gone. I mean, I took it two years in a row, and I still feel like the beginning." In contrast, Irene enjoyed her English class this year and last year and liked both of the teachers in these classes. When describing this year's class, Irene said, "I really liked her class a lot because I got to do a lot of essays and stuff, and that was really fun." She also talked about how the teacher viewed her, "She's like, 'I can't believe all of the cool stuff you had to say,'" and explained this statement saying, "I think it was because I contradicted a lot of people, and, like, brought them up on thinking about other stuff."

Although Irene had quit all of her previous sports to focus on being more of a student, she picked up another sport, golf, and was one of two freshmen who played on the varsity team. She picked this sport because it was a "moderate thing" that "not a lot of people expected me to take." When Irene talked about her practices, she mentioned activities like getting food off the snack cart, skipping a few holes, moving slowly so

others could pass and she could rest, watching movies, and getting to leave early and go home. From her perspective, her coaches and teammates were laid back and "less intense" about practicing and even competing in tournaments, in which she talked a few times about embarrassing themselves.

Along with both academics and playing sports, Irene played percussion in the school band, and she viewed herself more as a musician than an athlete, "What I really do is, like, music." Most of Irene's friends were musicians, and she planned on going to a college where she could learn more about music and then go to law school. When I asked her about which activity she would give up first – music or golf – she said music so she "could spend more time practicing the stuff that I really want to practice." In addition to playing in the school's band, Irene and a friend from the golf team had started their own band, which she called "kind of pathetic right now."

At the end of my study, Irene was spending the summer hanging out at the lake with friends (mostly guys, she said) and going to band practices. Her future plans centered around working on her book, going to college and law school, continuing with her music, and working out her and her father's relationship.

Sara: Average Academic/Average Athletic Identification

> *Easy going/ layed back type of person. Sometimes quiet. Have only 2 best friends and some other friends. Don't like people with picky personalities. I can be a sensitive person but Im not sympathetic.*

An African-American student-athlete, Sara played on the freshman basketball team. Sara did not like any of her classes this year and said that she was trying to get some of her "hard core classes" out of the way, and her least favorite class was Spanish. She talked about having one best friend who was an only child and basketball player like

herself, but she also hung out with lots of different people at school. Sara's identification scores fell into the medium category in both areas, while her academic perceived competence score fell in the high category and her athletic perceived competence score fell in the medium category. As to motivation, she demonstrated high scores in identified and external academic motivation and high scores in identified athletic motivation.

Although Sara placed more emphasis on her academics than on playing basketball, in our discussions she also talked about how well her academics and playing her sport went together. She said it this way, "They go together pretty well. I thought it [playing basketball] would get in the way because we play two nights a week, but it was like it just filled in. It didn't even get in the way hardly." Sara also felt that people viewed her as being "in between" a student and an athlete. As she put it, "I think they see me as both – those who know that I'm a[n] athlete – because I think those who don't know, see me as a student, but those who do know see me as both." Sara went on to talk about how she viewed herself:

> I'd say right in the middle because, like, the effort. I should put more, you know, a little bit more effort towards my academics, but, like, I probably put forth the same effort, and I should be putting more effort to my being a basketball player also, so I'd say yea, it's in the middle.

In both academics and sports, Sara focused on both effort and ability. She believed that she had talent and was able to be successful as long as she worked hard, developed into her talent, and was not "lazy." To demonstrate this focus, in relationship to academics, she said:

> The classes are easy, and I can get lazy and still pass with, you know, Bs and As as much. If I do get a[n] A, it's because I worked hard, but, like, a B, I kind of slack off knowing I could get a[n] A, so that's how it is with me. So I could get

straight As, but I just, I don't know why, I just get lazy.

When I asked her about playing basketball, she provided similar reasoning for her success, "I started playing in the third grade, and like, you know, I developed pretty good," and continued, "I could say maybe being taught, you know, being pushed when I was little to play pretty good…I had a talent that I developed into…"

In discussing academics, Sara talked about not liking her classes and never really having a favorite subject. When describing her elementary school experience, she stated, "I don't think I really had any favorite subjects. I just went just to go because I had to also." She continued by discussing how she felt about high school, "Sometimes I hate to come to school, but I just come any way," and continued later by saying that all of her classes "suck" and that she's trying to get them "out of the way." Despite this attitude about school and the different academic subjects, most of the experiences that Sara had had with teachers were positive. She did say, however, that she usually did not "get close" to teachers. Instead of focusing on how much teachers or her parents had influenced her, Sara summed up her motivation in school as:

> Sometimes, yea, I want to learn the stuff, but really, just like, I just know I want to do it so I can do good in the long run, so I'll be, you know, be somewhere… That's the important thing.

During my observations of her in class, I noticed that often Sara did a lot more talking with her friends in class than actual work, and when I asked her about this, she laughed and said, "That's been since kindergarten. I used to get, like, marks on my conduct card for talking all the time."

Sara also talked and joked some during her basketball practices, and she did finish

many of the running drills ahead of the other people, demonstrating the talent (speed) that she had mentioned in our discussions. Unlike academics, however, Sara did not view playing basketball as part of her long-term plans, "I don't want to play in college. I really, after high school, just want to stop, and I don't want to play in college, and I just wanted to do academics." She did admit, however, "If I knew that if I worked hard enough, that I could get a scholarship, I'd probably just keep going with that and just go ahead and play in college…just so I could get in, you know."

In addition to working on her academics and playing basketball, Sara also participated in a Bible study group that was "pretty important" to her. She spent most of her Sundays with this group and talked about how much she enjoyed their participating in the group.

At the end of my study, Sara had done well enough in all of her classes and was working out with the rest of the basketball team four days a week during the summer. She was also looking for a job but had decided that no one was hiring. For the future, Sara planned on getting an academic scholarship, going to college, and making lots of money. She also talked about wanting a family and having more than one child so her children would not be alone.

Kyle: Low Academic/High Athletic Identification

> *Kyle Jackson I'm a freshman at Robertson High School I play football and baseball.*

A White student-athlete, Kyle played on both the freshman football and baseball teams. His father and two older brothers also had participated in sports. Kyle's favorite subject was history and his least favorite subject was math, but his favorite class was

geography this year because his baseball coach taught it. He described he and his friends as "the sports people" and "big sports guys." Kyle's scores on the identification and perceived competence measures followed the same pattern: low in academics and high in athletics. As to motivation, Kyle demonstrated amotivation in academics and high scores in intrinsic/identified athletic motivation.

As the youngest son in a very athletically inclined family, Kyle started playing sports at a very young age. According to Kyle, his father was good enough in high school to be a professional football player except that he had injured himself. Neither of Kyle's parents graduated from high school, and only one of his brothers graduated, although he left the larger school district that Kyle is in now and finished high school in a rural district a few miles outside the urban area. Kyle told me that he had always excelled in sports but that in school, as he got older, he went from being a good student to having some trouble in middle school to having a lot of trouble in high school. He explained it like this,

> When I was growing up, it was really easy for me to play sports because I was good, and I had two older brothers who had played in front of me. And elementary school wasn't that hard academics. I made straight As, but then, like, when I went up into middle school, it started getting harder, so my grades dropped, but I'd keep on excelling at everything in sports. In high school, it's gotten even worse, but I still excellorate [sic] in sports. I think it's easier because, like I said, I have two older brothers that played before me, and we'd always throw the ball around, and we don't study that much.

Academically, Kyle discussed focusing on doing his work and passing his classes so that he can play his sports. He had had a bad experience the first semester of his freshman year with an English teacher who, according to Kyle, lied about his behavior to his parents. The experience was so bad that Kyle and his parents had him moved out of

her class and put into another teacher's English class, which Kyle ended up making an 83 in during the last six weeks of school. In fact, English went from being his worst class to his best class after the change in teachers. Although this change did seem to indicate that teachers have some influence on Kyle's work habits and behavior, during the two classes in which I observed him (algebra and geography), Kyle spent most of his time doing nothing or engaging in off-task behaviors (e.g., playing with his cell phone, talking with his friends). In algebra, for example, he did not bring any materials to class except for a pencil, and during the entire hour and forty minutes of class, he did not write one time on his review sheet, which they were supposed to work on the whole class period.

Kyle viewed athletics as more important than academics. As he put it,

> I'm at a conflict now is that what's this paper going to matter from, you know, this paper that I'm going to do next week? Or what's this test, what's that going to do to my whatever? I know I got four years of schoolwork to do. What's it going to hurt the rest of that? But in sports, if some scout's looking at me, and I make this big throw, then he might keep me in mind. Or if I miss it, then, you know, he'll just skip right over me.

From Kyle's perspective, then, not only does playing sports have short-term benefits (e.g., "keep me out of trouble") but also it has greater long-term benefits than school (i.e., being picked to play after high school). In fact, Kyle talked about making money playing sports, "I don't see how somebody can make millions off…making a hundred on the test. Or, somebody that can hit the ball over the fence every time." He also talked some about the great amount of time that he spent either playing his sports or training for them and about the conflict that this created between his athletics and academics. As he said,

> I think it's a big conflict because, like, we have, the freshman have first block football, so we work out in the mornings before school, and that's our first period, and we got to come to the classroom all tired and stuff. And we got to do our work, and we don't get off baseball practice until, like, 6:00, or I get,

> some of us don't get out until, like, 6:30 or 7:00, and we have to come home and eat, do our homework, and then go to bed.

For Kyle, his coaches had been big influences and kept him "out of trouble." He described his freshman coaches' perspectives on academics and sports like this, "They always say your schoolwork's more important than baseball or football, but I can also see in them wanting us to win…They keep me in line."

For now, Kyle's life centered around playing his sports and attempting to be the second person in his family to graduate high school and the first to graduate from a large urban high school. He went to summer school to make up for his first semester of English and played in summer league baseball. Kyle's plans for the future focused on being a successful athlete and following in his brother's footsteps by becoming a college athlete.

Greta: Low Academic/High Athletic Identification

> *I'm a[n] athlete and a good person. I'm also kind.*

A White student-athlete, Greta played on the varsity soccer team. Greta described she and her friends as the "popular, athletic-type" group. She talked some about hating her classes, but she did like biology because a coach who she liked taught it and English because they did not have to read much. Her least favorite class was Spanish. Greta's academic identification score fell in the medium category, while her athletic identification fell in the high category. Her academic perceived competence fell in the low category, and her athletic perceived competence fell in the medium category. Greta demonstrated high scores in external academic motivation and intrinsic/identified athletic motivation.

For Greta, playing soccer and being an athlete were at the center of how she saw

herself, “If I don’t play soccer, I’m not me.” To demonstrate this attitude further, Greta stated:

> I think what you do outside of school, like, influences you more than what you do inside, so, and since I’m always with some sport, then I don’t know. Like if someone asked me, I’d say I was, like, a[n] athlete or student because, I guess, it’s just, like, my opinion, like on what I like more, what I think I’m better at and stuff.

She also felt that being involved in sports helped her academically because in order to play, she had to pass her classes and do well enough so that her mother would let her continue to play. As she put it:

> I think it’s easier for me to be in sports and, like, go to school because it, like, motivates me because if my mom…because I’ve played select soccer for a real long time, so if I didn’t pass, she wouldn’t let me play. And the same with, like, high school, of course, you don’t pass, you don’t play.

Greta also compared herself to other students who did not play sports and how her parents liked her playing soccer because it kept her out of trouble:

> They [her parents] like me in sports because they figure, like, because, like, a lot of people, like most people that are druggies and stuff aren’t, they don’t play any sports. They don’t do anything. So I figure that if I’m in sports, then I’ll, like, stay out of stuff.

At the same time, however, Greta also talked about how she might actually do better in her academics if she did not play any sport. She expressed this opinion as, “I guess if I didn’t play sports, I might be better, like if, I might make better grades because, like, I’d have more time to pay attention to that. But, I wouldn’t want to. I’d rather play sports,” and then began to laugh.

In discussing her academics, Greta expressed an extreme dislike for school and her classes in general. She used such phrases as, “a pain,” “annoying,” and “hate,” to

describe her classes and attending school. Greta's perspective of school was summarized in the following statements, "It's [going to college], like, the only way you can really have a life after school," followed by, "If you [were] guaranteed a good life after school, there's, I wouldn't go to school." In addition, Greta did not feel she did especially well in school and described herself as "a little average, like, for most people my age." She viewed herself as less academically able and credited any academic success she had to hard work. As she put it:

> It's just work[ing] hard because, I don't know. Like, some students, like, I don't understand because some of my problem, like, in algebra, if everyone gets it, I don't get it. And if, like, I get it, no one else gets it, so I don't know.

Again, she also talked about her mother's influence on her academics and her expectations for her, "My grades aren't nearly…my mom, because my first C was at high school or whatever, and so she expected me to make all As and Bs," and she continued later, "She knows in academics I don't put all the effort that I should or, like, that I could," and "She wants me to do really good in school, and I know I don't." In contrast to these statements, however, Greta felt like her family viewed her as "the smart one out of the family" as opposed to her older brother who, according to Greta, "doesn't do much." Despite her negative perspectives of school and classes, most of Greta's experiences with teachers had been positive. When I observed Greta in class, she did participate; however, I did notice in her least favorite class, Spanish, which she failed, she did display some more passively aggressive behaviors toward her teacher (e.g., making faces at him when he turned his back). The other class that I observed her in, biology, she said was her favorite class because the teacher was a coach who was "real cool." In addition to talking

about teachers, we also discussed her skipping class because when I tried to find her the first couple of times I went to classes to talk with her about being in my study, the teachers did not know where she was except that she was at school. When I brought up this topic, Greta told me that she had only skipped class twice this year despite the fact that she there were "so many" classes that she "hate[d]." She also provided me with her reasons for skipping:

> I knew, like, all we do is, like, nothing the whole class period. But, like, if we have a test, or if I know we're doing something… if I know we're learning something new, I don't do it. I don't care. Like, the only class I've ever skipped is keyboarding because we don't do anything in keyboarding.

When I explained to her that I had not been to her keyboarding class, she added, "And then health, and we do nothing in health." Greta went on to tell me how students never get in trouble for skipping any way as long as you skip class appropriately, "The only time you ever get in trouble and you skip is, like, if you're in the class period and you don't come back, and that's just people that are stupid. I don't understand why they do that."

In contrast to her academics, Greta felt that she spent a lot of time playing soccer and other sports. She also believed that she was much closer to her coaches than teachers, "They've pushed me…They more know what's going on than, like, teachers do," and she added, "If I had to look up to teachers or, like, coaches more, I look up to coaches more than teachers." Greta talked about one coach, her select soccer coach, in particular, who she felt had helped her more than any other coach:

> Because, like, it was outside of school, so, like, he, like, if I needed help with something, he would, like, stay after and help me with it. He was just, I mean, he was just more, like there for me than, like high school coaches can be.

Also in contrast to academics, Greta felt that she was a talented athlete and did not have to "think about" what she was doing when she played. As she put it, "It just comes to me now." She explained further, "I'm real competitive, and, like, if someone, like, if we do a drill, and someone's better than me at it, I get so frustrated, but…I just love the sport." At the end of my study, Greta had taken the summer off from playing soccer because she had been having knee problems. She had begun dating a boy who also played soccer for the school. Academically, Greta had passed all of her classes except Spanish, which she failed both semesters, and therefore, had to make up the next year. Rather than taking Spanish again, however, Greta planned on taking American Sign Language because, according to her, "everyone makes 90s in that." As to the future, Greta was focused on going to college and possibly playing soccer at the college level (the college she wanted to attend had a good women's soccer team, according to Greta). She also talked about having a family, including children who are "good kids" and who she "raise[s] well."

Steven: Low Academic/Low Athletic Identification

I think I am another ordinary person in the world

Steven, a Latino student, enjoyed reading and drawing but did not enjoy school. He talked much of problems he saw in the world and problems he had experienced in his lifetime. Steven described he and his friends as "some kind of bullies," but this self-description contrasted with his wanting to help other people and fight against injustices he saw in the world. For the most part, Steven's identification and perceived competence scores fell into the low category, except in athletic perceived competence in which his score fell in the medium category. Steven demonstrated amotivation in both academics and athletics.

At the center of much of what Steven discussed were his anger, sadness, and negative perspectives of the world. His positive experiences with teachers were far outweighed by his negative experiences, which when combined with his encounters with racism and gangs, had created an extremely negative perspective of society and its educational systems. Steven also has mixed views of himself as a learner – at times referring to himself as "smart" and at others talking about having "trouble learning." The one year that he felt he had done well in school (fifth grade) was the same year that his only positive experiences with a past teacher had occurred. From Steven's discussions with me, it was clear that he had spent much time wondering and worrying about the world around him and the people in it. He connected this preoccupation with ideas and occurrences outside of school to his trouble inside of school when he said,

> I have trouble learning. My theory is it's because…the only reason I can't learn is because I remember everything in my mind. I've never forgotten anything that's ever happened to me in my life…We can learn more things because we forget things, but that's the reason I think I can't learn because I keep everything on my mind, everything that's ever happened to me.

It was clear that Steven did keep a lot on his mind. While everyone else's initial interview lasted no longer than 45 minutes, Steven talked with me for almost an hour and a half. Our few discussions ranged from his talking about his love for his mother, his dislike of his stepfather, and his anger at his father for leaving his family to his constantly wanting to fight people to his interest in stopping racism and becoming a lawyer to help people.

Steven did not play sports, and he had been kicked out of ROTC earlier in the year, but he did discuss other activities that he enjoyed like drawing, playing violin and guitar, and reading. He also talked some about his friends, especially his girlfriend, with

whom he felt very close and discussed having a child during our initial interview. The last time I talked with Steven, however, he and his girlfriend had broken up because, according to Steven, she had lied to him and cheated on him with his friend.

Before Steven and his girlfriend, who was in eighth grade, broke up, he had planned to fail his freshman year so that they could go through the rest of school together. Steven followed through with this plan and must now repeat the ninth grade (with his ex-girlfriend). When conducting my observations, I noticed Steven sitting in the lunchroom or playing in the hallways quite often during class periods. We talked about skipping class, and he told me that he did this a lot and that, in fact, sometimes he skipped a whole day by lying to his mother and getting on a different bus to go to a friend's house. In one of the two classes that I observed (his favorite class, world geography), Steven spent much time drawing rather than working on a test that they were taking. During the other class (his least favorite class, French), he participated to some extent, but he often shut his book during the lesson or put his earphones on, so that the teacher had to ask him to reopen his book and take off his earphones.

For now, Steven focused on hanging out with his friends and passing his classes so that he can graduate. He had mixed perspectives when it came to his plans for the future,

> I'll either be in college, doing really something really smart, which I don't think I will sometimes, but I do, or just be working in construction or something, or I don't know, playing in a band. That's what my life's dreams being all about.

Whichever of these or other paths that he ends up creating for himself and following, Steven wants to take care of his family and help the rest of the world somehow.

Kerrie: Low Academic/Low Athletic Identification

I am an individual. I am the best person I can be. I am Kerrie Davis.

Kerrie, a White student, was very involved in drama and the school's dance team. Kerrie had always done well in school and described herself as a "teacher's pet" in the past. Her favorite class was drama and her least favorite class was Spanish. Interestingly, both of Kerrie's identification scores fell in the low category, but her academic perceived competence score fell in the high category, while her athletic perceived competence fell in the medium category. She demonstrated high scores in external academic motivation and amotivation in athletics.

Instead of focusing on academics or athletics, Kerrie's motivation and identification centered around her participation in drama and the school's drill team. Although she began her involvement formally in acting in middle school, Kerrie discussed performing in front of others since she was little:

> When I was little, for nine and a half years, I was in dance, and I loved to entertain people. They have videos of me just dancing in front of all my family and laughing and making up stuff to make them laugh…I just always liked acting…I liked to act and perform, and when my friend wanted to audition, we auditioned for *As You Like It* in our middle school, and I got in.

She then went on to describe her feelings after performing in her first play, "I realized, I was like, I like this. I like people watching me. I like doing this, so, I liked the fact that you can pretend to be somebody else and not get in trouble, you know." Kerrie also discussed how both her past drama teacher and her current one had been influential in her life. For example, in relation to her middle school drama teacher, Kerrie said, "She was really neat, and she taught me to experience life." She also talked about having lots of friends in drama.

Kerrie believed that she usually spent a lot of time on improving her acting and studying theater each week, and she talked about possibly doing community theater. In talking about her drama class and acting, Kerrie believed she was "pretty good" and mentioned several times how much she liked performing, "You can be as crazy as you want and just be as loud as you want because you have to be loud for people to hear you. I just love the entertaining. I love to entertain people." In addition to participating in theater, Kerrie had also tried out for the school's dance team and made it, so the next semester she would be taking both drama and dance classes. When we talked about her making the dance team, she told me that she had "always wanted to be on [the] drill team" and talked about dancing with the drill team during football games when she was a little girl.

Although Kerrie focused more on drama and dance, she viewed herself as a good student and talked about being a "teacher's pet" in the past. She did talk about changing her attitude toward being academically successful in middle school:

> In sixth grade, I was still the teacher's pet, but in seventh and eighth , I started realizing that I didn't have a lot of friends, and I started being comfortable with myself because I realized I was kidding myself in some ways because I thought, because I felt like I was smarter than people that I couldn't be their friends, but that changed, and I made more friends, but I still cared about my grades, and just, I was happier and I was more comfortable with myself for being intelligent… because when you're in elementary school, it's not okay to be smart, but when you get older it is.

As can be seen in her discussion, Kerrie viewed herself as a smart student who also worked hard, "I am hard-working, but it's also, I feel like I just know it." All of the experiences with teachers that she talked about were positive, and when I observed her in her classes, she participated often in class, especially in drama, her favorite class, and

biology, her most difficult class. In fact, in her drama class, she and a group of girls left the room to practice a play, and Kerrie, the play's director, ran the entire practice, telling the others what to do, showing them how to act certain scenes, and supporting the others as they worked through scenes. As to the future, Kerrie had already begun to focus on getting into a good college, and she felt like her performance now would affect her long-term college goals later, "Now I'm starting to think about college, and I know it's three years away, but I need to make good grades so I can get into a good college."

At the end of the study, Kerrie was going to a dance team camp during the summer and spending time visiting different people in her family. She talked about continuing with her drama class and working on her acting, but she also felt like participating on the dance team would limit her involvement in theater during the next semester. As to the future, along with going to college, where she planned on taking drama classes but majoring in something else as a "fall back plan," Kerrie wanted to become a successful actress, move to California, and have a "loving family."

APPENDIX C

Participant Information Chart

Name	**Ethnicity**	**Parents Background**	**Family**	**Interests**
Alex	White	Played high school sports Dad went to college little while; manages custodial services Mom – secretary	Youngest child Older sister (21) played high school soccer; hairdresser	Religion
Charles	African-American	Dad – head of maintenance Mom – died one year ago Step-mom – somewhat close with	Middle child Oldest brother in jail; younger sister (13) in sports	
Jessica	African-American	Mom – engineer Dad wanted to be football coach but not finish school; works on trucks Mom's dad – professional football player	Middle child Older brother (18) playing college football Other 3 siblings play sports or want to play	Family
David	White	Mom in grocery business Dad in motel business and graduates college this year Parents divorced – moved in with mom 2 years ago Step-dad – aerospace engineer	Oldest child Younger (11) brother lives with dad 1-year-old half-sister	ROTC Video games/ Computer
Trina	White	Lives with grandparents (dad's parents) – retired military Parents not graduate from high school	Oldest child Younger brother (14) & sister (13)	Family ROTC
Freddy	Guatemalan	Parents came to U.S. from Guatemala Mom is cook Dad is professional chef	Second youngest 7 older siblings – 3 live in Guatemala 1 younger brother (12)	Upward Bound Family

Name	Ethnicity	Parents	Family	Interests
Irene	White	Mom graduated from college and works for police Dad – director of maintenance	Oldest child Younger brother into math, video games; hates reading, English	Music/ Band Writing
Sara	African-American	Parents in college now Mom works and studies psychology Dad is welder, studying to be coach	Only child	Religion
Kyle	White	Both parents played sports and neither finished high school Mom went to college and is nurse Dad was big football player, started working when really young	Youngest child Both older brothers (19, 21) played sports One brother married; other plays college baseball	Going to church
Greta	White	Mom went to 3 years of college and is nurse Dad is construction boss	Youngest child Older brother (20) keeps changing community colleges	
Steven	Latino	Mom works in retail Step-dad – construction Father – not involved with Ricardo	Oldest child Younger sister (12) 1-year-old brother	Playing guitar Drawing Reading Working on cars
Kerrie	White	Both parents work at sheriff's department	Youngest child Older brother goes to fire academy	Drama/ Acting

Name	Self-Reported GPA	Favorite/ Easiest Class	Least Favorite/ Hardest Class	Academic Status
Alex	3.3	Favorite: Math	Least Favorite: English	Did fine in all classes
Charles	3.4	Easiest: Math	Hardest: Biology	Did fine in all classes including biology because teacher said worked hard
Jessica	4.0	Favorite: Math	Least Favorite: English, Science	Did fine in classes except English was borderline
David	3.8	Favorites: History, English	Least Favorite: Math	Did fine in all classes – taking AP history next year
Trina	Cs	Favorites: Math, English Easiest: Math	Hardest: Biology	Unknown
Freddy	3.9	Favorites: Science, Chemistry, Algebra	Least Favorites: English, Geography	Failed 6 classes and have to retake next year

Name	Self-Reported GPA	Favorite/ Easiest Class	Least Favorite/ Hardest Class	Academic Status
Irene	3.7	Favorites: History, English	Least Favorite: Math	Did well in all classes except algebra, but still passed
Sara	80s & 90s	Favorite: No real favorite but algebra is best class this year	Least Favorite: Spanish	Did well in all classes
Kyle	Passing	Favorite: History, World Geography	Least Favorite: Algebra	Passed all classes, but had to make up first semester of English in summer school
Greta	2.5	Favorites: Biology, English	Least Favorite: Spanish	Passed all classes except Spanish – taking sign language next year
Steven	2.0	Favorite: World Geography	Least Favorite: French	Failed all freshman classes – has to retake all classes next year
Kerrie	As & Bs	Favorite: Drama	Least Favorite: Spanish Hardest: Biology	Did fine in all classes

Name	**Sport(s) Played**	**Age Started Playing**	**Status/ on Team(s)**	**# of Hours Per Day Spent on Academics & Sports Outside School**
Alex	Soccer, baseball Basketball, football Golf	Both when 4 or 5 Middle school High school	Only plays baseball on freshman team – shortstop, 2nd or 3rd base	Academics: not long; if test = 1 hour Athletics: 1-2 hours outside of school
Charles	Football	10 years old	Plays on freshman team – defense	Academics: Some Athletics: several hours after school
Jessica	Basketball Volleyball, Track Football	5-years-old Middle school	Only plays basketball on junior varsity team – post Varsity next year	Academics: 2-4 hours (depends on A-day or B-day) Athletics: lot of time
David	Tried baseball, football, soccer	Baseball in 1st grade	Not play	Academics: 1-2 hours Athletics: None ROTC: Not much
Trina	None	None	Not play	Academics: 1 _ hours
Freddy	Boxing	Middle school	Does outside of school and has won 13 tournaments	Academics: 1-1_ hours Athletics: 2 hours

Name	**Sport(s) Played**	**Age Started Playing**	**Status/ on Team(s)**	**# of Hours Per Day Spent on Academics & Sports Outside School**
Irene	Baseball Basketball, Volleyball Golf	5 years old Middle school High school	One of two freshmen on varsity golf team	Academics: 1_-2 hours Athletics: 1-3 hours
Sara	Basketball Volleyball	3rd grade Middle school	Plays on freshman basketball team – guard	Academics: _-1 hour Athletics: not much
Kyle	Football Baseball	Little kid	On freshman football team – defense On freshman baseball team – centerfield	Academics: 1-1_ hours Athletics: 2-3 hours
Greta	Soccer Basketball	4 years old Middle school	On varsity soccer team	Academics: Not lot of time at all Athletics: Lot of time
Steven	None	None	Not play	Academics: None
Kerrie	Tennis Drill team	Unknown High school	Tried out for drill team and made it for next year	Academics: _ hour Drama: _-1 hour

Name	Order of Roles	Describing Self	Top Goals	Career Plans & Future
Alex	Christian Son Brother Friend Student Athlete	Religious Smart Athletic Responsible Friendly Popular Hard-working	1. Go to good college 2. Become successful wealthy/healthwise 3. Be good parent 4. Have athletic kids	Junior college, 4-year college – play baseball Play baseball professionally; have family
Charles	Parents Brother Son Student Athlete Friend	Responsible Smart Hard-working Focused Friendly Gifted Creative	1. Get out of college with no debt 2. Get a nice house 3. Nice job 4. Support myself or others 5. Have a nice car	In house with roommate; have job; maybe in college Go back to school if play pro football
Jessica	Sister Daughter Student Friend Athlete	Religious Responsible Friendly Focused Athletic Hard-working Smart	Unknown	College – play basketball Play basketball professionally; lawyer
David	Son Brother Friend Student ROTC	Smart Responsible Gifted Creative Hard-working Friendly Focused	1. Graduate high school 2. Get through college 3. Get Master's degree 4. Get in Air Force	College Officer in Air Force, Engineer, Researcher
Trina	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Nursing
Freddy	Son Brother Upward Bound Student Friend Athlete	Creative Hard-working Smart Gifted Focused Athletic Friendly	1. Start family 2. Be good father & husband 3. Finish school 4. Get degree 5. Be successful in everything want	Go to college Own own business Have kids

Name	Order of Roles	Describing Self	Top Goals	Career Plans & Future
Irene	Athlete Daughter Sister Student Friend Musician Writer	Friendly Creative Smart Gifted Responsible Focused Hard-working	1. Finish my book 2. Go to college, study music 3. Go to law school 4. Tell my dad how I feel	Go to college Never settle down – no telling; maybe have own law practice
Sara	Christian Daughter Friend Student Athlete	Religious Smart Friendly Gifted Responsible Athletic Hard-working	1. Get academic scholarship 2. Go to college 3. Make a lot of money 4. Get married 5. Have 1-2 kids	Go to college Do what want to do Have 2 kids
Kyle	Son Brother Uncle Friend Football Baseball Student	Athletic Friendly Religious Popular Gifted Responsible Creative	1. Want big state ring in football 2. Become better athlete 3. Find nice college somewhere	Maybe college Have family Good job: Pro football or baseball Work on cars
Greta	Friend Daughter Athlete Student Sister	Athletic Popular Friendly Gifted Responsible Creative Smart	1. Make all As & Bs 2. Go to college & finish completely 3. Do right things in college so success 4. Want kids to be good	Go to college, play on soccer team Married, have family Work unless husband's wealthy
Steven	Son Brother Friend Boyfriend Student	Creative Friendly Religious Hard-working Responsible Gifted Focused	1. Be lawyer 2. Be father ome for everybody 3. Make everybody happy in world	Maybe college or doing construction; playing in band Working – big house; at home
Kerrie	Daughter Sister Friend Student Actor Drill team Athlete	Friendly Religious Creative Smart Responsible Gifted Focused	1. Go to college 2. Be successful actress 3. Have loving family	Go to college, study drama and something else Move to California and act in movie or sit-com

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